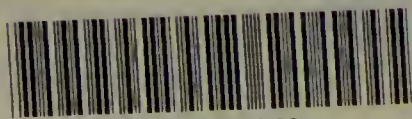


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Plates accompanying the Eighth Part.

	PAGE
1. Medallion of Titus	252
2. Gaza	cv.
3. Masada	cx.
4. Pool of the Virgin	cxv.
5. Colossal Stone in the Quarry, Baalbec	cxvi.
6. Tiberias	cxl.
7. Anathoth	clxxiii.
8. Pool of Bethesda	clxxiv.

earth. To prevent this from falling through, as the mound was raised, they bound together, by other transverse beams, those that lay lengthways. Thus the work appeared to the enemy like a building; but, when the strokes of the machines began to play, they were of course weakened by it: and the materials, settling down by the concussion, became more compact.

Pereceiving this, Silva, thinking it easier to destroy the wall by fire, ordered the soldiers to hurl on it a number of lighted torches. Being made, for the most part, of wood, it soon caught the fire; which, owing to its hollowness, penetrated quite through and burst forth in a volume of flame. At the commencement of the conflagration, the north wind, which blew in their faces, occasioned the Romans great alarm: for, turning back the flame from above, it drove it directly against them; insomuch that, as their engines seemed likely to be burned, they had almost given up all for lost. But the wind, as if by Divine interposition, suddenly changing to the south, blew strong in an opposite direction, and, carrying the flame, impelled it against the wall, which throughout its entire depth was now in a blaze. The Romans, having thus experienced the help of God, returned rejoicing to their camp, with the determination of attacking the enemy on the ensuing day; and they kept more vigilant watch during the night, lest any of the besieged should secretly escape.

6. But neither did Eleazar himself meditate flight, nor had he any intention of permitting others to do so. Seeing the wall consumed by the flames, and able to devise no other means of safety, or occasion for a display of valour, and setting before his eyes what the Romans, should they prove victorious, would inflict on them, their children, and their wives, he planned the death of all. And, judging this best under present circumstances, he assembled the most resolute of his comrades, and incited them to the deed by such words as these:—

“As we have of old determined, my brave comrades, neither to serve the Romans, nor any other than God;—for He alone is the true and just Lord of men—the time has now come which enjoins us to verify by our actions this resolve. Herein then let us not disgrace ourselves; we who have hitherto refused to submit even to an undangered servitude, but who now, along with servitude, shall have to undergo intolerable punishment, if we shall fall alive into the hands of the Romans.

“For we were the first of all to revolt, and we are the last in arms against them. I think, moreover, that this hath been granted to us as a favour by God, that we have it in our power to die honourably and in freedom;—a privilege which has not fallen to the lot of others,

who have been defeated contrary to their expectations. Let another day dawn, and assured capture awaits us ; but there is still the unfettered choice of a noble death with those dearest to us. For this our enemies are unable to prevent, though fervently they pray to take us alive :—while for us to conquer them in battle is no longer possible.

“ Perhaps, indeed, we ought from the very first—when, having chosen to assert our liberties, we suffered such severe treatment from one another, and still worse from our foes—to have guessed the purpose of God, and to have known that the Jewish nation, formerly dear to Him, was doomed to perdition. For, had He continued favourable, or only moderately incensed at us, He would not have overlooked the destruction of so many men, nor have delivered His most holy city to the flames, and to the desolating hands of enemies.

“ But we hoped, forsooth, to survive alone of all the Jewish race, preserving our freedom, as if we had been guiltless towards God, and had participated in no crime ;—we who had even instructed others to transgress. Observe, therefore, how He exposes the vanity of our expectations, involving us in difficulties and distress which exceed all that we could anticipate. The impregnable nature of the fortress has not availed for our security ; and, even though we have an ample supply of provisions, and piles of arms, with abundance of every other requisite, God Himself has most visibly wrested from us our hope of safety. For not of its own accord did the fire that was driving against our enemies return against the defences prepared by us. No ; all this is but the vengeance for the many injuries which we have, in madness, ventured to commit against our fellow-countrymen ; for which let us not await punishment from our bitterest foes the Romans, but receive it from God through ourselves. It will be milder than they would inflict. For let our wives die undishonoured ; our children, ere they know what slavery is ; and, when once they are removed, let us confer a noble favour on one another, preserving our freedom as a becoming shroud.

“ But, first, let us destroy with fire our property and the fortress. For I know well the Romans will be grieved to lose at once our persons and our goods. Our provisions alone let us spare ; for these will testify, when we are dead, that we were not subdued from want ; but that, as we had resolved from the beginning, we preferred death to servitude.”

7. Thus spoke Eleazar ; not, however, in accordance with the sentiments of those present. Some there were, indeed, who were eager to obey, and deeming death honourable, were all but filled with delight ; but others, of softer mould, were moved with compassion for their wives and families ; and especially when their own dissolu-

tion was thus set before them, the tears that flowed as they looked at one another testified the disinclination of their minds. Seeing them recoiling, and broken in spirit by the magnitude of his proposal, Eleazar feared lest their invocations and tears should unman even those who had listened to his appeal with fortitude. Accordingly, he did not fail to follow up his exhortation. Rousing himself, and inspired with strong determination, he essayed a more elevated strain, descanting on the immortality of the soul. Bitterly complaining, and looking steadfastly on those who were in tears, he resumed:—"Most deeply was I deceived in thinking that I was aiding brave men in their struggles for freedom—men determined to live with honour, or to die. Ye were, it seems, no better than the common herd, either in courage, or in fortitude; afraid even of the death which should deliver you from the direst evils—and this, too, while it imports you neither to delay, nor wait for an adviser. For of old, and from the first dawn of reason, have the national laws and the divine precepts, confirmed by the deeds and noble sentiments of our forefathers, continued to teach us, that life, not death, is a misfortune to men. For it is death that gives liberty to the soul, and permits it to depart to its proper and pure abode, where it will be free from every calamity. But so long as it is imprisoned in a mortal body, and infected with its miseries, it is, to speak most truly, dead; for association with what is mortal befits not that which is divine. Be it, then, that the soul, even while incarcerated in the body, is capable of much; for it makes that frame its sensible instrument, invisibly moving it, and leading it forth in its actions beyond the range of a mortal nature. But it is not until, freed from that weight which hangs suspended from it and drags it down to earth, the soul hath re-assumed its proper sphere, that it enjoys a blessed energy, and a power every way unrestricted, remaining, as God himself, imperceptible to human eyes.

"For not even while in the body does it present itself to view. It enters unperceived, and unseen again withdraws; its own nature one and incorruptible, though a cause of change to the body. For whatever the soul hath touched, lives and flourishes; whatever it has removed from, withers and dies; so much of immortality is left to it. Let sleep be to you a most convincing proof of what I say—sleep, in which the soul, undistracted by the body, enjoys apart from it the sweetest rest, and, conversant with God through its relationship to Him, traverses the universe, and foretells many events of futurity.

"Why should we fear death, loving, as we do, the repose of sleep? and how can it be otherwise than foolish, while pursuing the liberty

which depends upon our life, to grudge ourselves that which is eternal? We ought, indeed, instructed by our native institutions, to afford to others an example of readiness to die. But, nevertheless, if we must support these views by a reference to foreigners, let us look to those Indians who profess the discipline of philosophy. The period of life, as a necessary ministration to nature, these good men reluctantly endure. They hasten to disengage their souls from their bodies; and, when neither impelled nor harassed by any evil, through desire of immortal life, they intimate to their acquaintances that they are about to depart, and no attempt is made to prevent them; but all count them happy, and every one gives them messages for his friends, so certain and most real do they believe that intercourse to be which souls maintain with each other.

“ They then, after attending to these instructions, commit their bodies to the fire, that thus their souls may be separated from their mortal tenements in the utmost purity, and expire amidst laudatory hymns. Their dearest friends escort them to death, more readily than other men do their fellow-citizens when entering on an unusually long journey. For themselves, indeed, they weep, but then they pronounce blessed, as now receiving the rank of immortality. Are we not, then, ashamed of entertaining less elevated sentiments than Indians, and of bringing, by our pusillanimity, a foul reproach on our country’s laws, which are the subject of emulation to all mankind?

“ But, even had we from the first been educated in opposite principles, and taught that to live is the supreme good, and that death is a calamity, still the occasion is one that calls upon us to bear it with cheerfulness, since we die by the will of God, and from necessity. For of old, as it appears, God passed against the whole Jewish race in common this decree—that we should depart from life, if we would not use it aright. Do not ascribe the blame to yourselves, nor the credit to the Romans, that this war with them has involved us all in ruin; for these things have not happened through their might, but a more powerful cause has interposed to give them the semblance of victory; for by what weapons of the Romans were the Jews of Cæsarea slain? They had not so much as a thought of rebelling. They were in the act of celebrating the seventh day, when the multitude of the Cæsareans, rushing on them, massacred them unresisting, with their wives and children, without paying any regard even to the Romans themselves, who regarded those alone as enemies who, like us, had revolted.

“ But it will be urged, that the Cæsareans had always cherished a grudge against the Jews who were amongst them, and that they seized

that opportunity to gratify their ancient spleen. What, then, shall we say of the Jews of Scythopolis, who hesitated not to wage war on us in behalf of the Greeks, though they declined uniting with us, their kindred, to take vengeance on the Romans. Much, therefore, did their good-will and fidelity towards the Scythopolitans profit them, cruelly butchered as they were, they, and the whole of their families. This was the requital they received for their alliance! for what they prevented them from suffering at our hands, that they endured, as if they had themselves wished to inflict it.

“It would be tedious to specify every single instance; for you know that there is not a city throughout Syria which has not destroyed the Jews who dwelt in it, though more hostile to us than were the Romans. The Damascenes, for instance, without being able to devise so much as a plausible pretext, filled their city with most atrocious slaughter, butchering eighteen thousand Jews, with their wives and families. And as to the multitudes who perished under the torture in Egypt, we were informed that they exceeded some sixty thousand.

“But, perhaps, it was because they were in a foreign land, and unable to offer any opposition to their enemies, that these perished thus. Yet had not all those who in their own territory entered into hostilities with the Romans resources sufficient to inspire them with confident expectations of success? We had arms, with walls, and fortresses well nigh impregnable, and a spirit undaunted by any danger in the cause of freedom; and by these were we encouraged to throw off the yoke. All these, notwithstanding, availed us but for a brief season, and only served to buoy us up with hopes, while they proved to be the source of greater misfortunes. For all have been taken—all have fallen into the hands of our enemies! as if provided, not for the security of those who prepared them, but for the more glorious triumph of our foes! As to those who perished in battle, we cannot but count them happy, for they died defending, not betraying, liberty. But the multitudes who have been subjected to the Romans, who would not pity? or who would not make haste to die, ere yet he suffered the same fate with them? Some have expired upon the rack, some under the torture of fire and of scourges. Some, half-devoured by wild beasts, have been preserved alive to furnish them with a second repast, after affording derision and merriment to their foes. But they are to be deemed most miserable who are still living, and often pray for death, yet cannot obtain it.

“And where is now that great city, the metropolis of the whole nation of Jews, protected by so many encircling walls, secured by so

many forts, and by the vastness of its towers, which could with difficulty contain its munitions of war, and which was garrisoned by so many myriads of defenders? What has become of that city of ours in which it was believed God himself was a dweller? Uprooted from its foundations, it has been swept away! one memorial of it alone remaining, the camp of its destroyers still planted upon its ruins! Hapless old men are sitting among the ashes of the temple, and a few women, who have been reserved by our enemies for the basest of injuries.

“Who of us, then, casting these things in his mind, shall bear to see the sun, even could he live unendangered? Who so much his country’s foe, or who so unmanly, or so fond of life, as not to regret that he lives even until now? Oh! would that we had all been dead, ere yet we beheld that sacred city overthrown by hostile hands, or our holy temple so profanely rooted up! But since we were beguiled with the not ignoble hope, that we might possibly be able to avenge her of her foes, and now that hope is vanished for ever, leaving us solitary, and in distress, let us hasten to die honourably. Let us pity ourselves, our children, and our wives, while it is still in our power to obtain pity from ourselves. For we were born for death, as were those who derive from us their being; and this even the fortunate cannot escape. But insult, and servitude, and the seeing our wives led to infamy with their children, are not evils by nature necessary to man; but are drawn down, by their cowardice, who, when they have it in their power to die, ere yet those evils arrive, refuse to do so.

“Elated with courage, we threw off allegiance to the Romans, and now finally, when invited to accept of safety, we have refused to listen to the offer. Who then can do otherwise than expect their resentment, should we fall alive into their hands? Wretched then will be the young, whose vigorous frames can sustain many tortures: wretched too will be the old, whose age is unable to bear calamities! A man shall see his wife dragged away by violence, shall hear the voice of his child, crying to a father whose hands are bound. But ours are yet free and grasp the sword. While they are so, let them do us honourable service. Let us die unenslaved by our foes! and, blest with freedom, with our wives and children, depart together from life. This our laws enjoin: this our wives and children implore from us. The necessity for this God has imposed on us, while the Romans would desire an opposite course, and are afraid lest any of us should die before capture. Let us hasten, then, instead of their hoped enjoyment from the possession of our persons, to leave them astonishment at our death, and admiration of our fortitude.”

CHAPTER IX.

1. ELEAZAR, while still anxious to encourage them, was cut short by his auditors, who, filled with some uncontrollable fury, were all in haste to do the deed. They went their way, like men possessed, each ambitious to outstrip the other, and thinking that not to be found among the last would be an evidence of their fortitude and wise determination:—so ardent a desire had seized upon them to slaughter their wives, their children, and themselves. Nor were their spirits damped, as might have been expected, when they came to the work: they adhered inflexibly to the resolution they had formed while listening to Eleazar's address;—natural affection and a love of kindred still alive in every breast, but the reflection that they had consulted best for those dearest to them prevailing over everything else. For, while they clasped and fondly embraced their wives, and took their children in their arms, clinging to them and weeping as they kissed them for the last time, at that very moment, as if executing it with strangers' hands, they completed their design; deriving consolation, under the necessity of killing them, from the consideration of the evils they would endure, if they came into the power of their enemies. And, in fine, no one was found to waver in so stern an undertaking; all going through the work with their nearest relatives. Wretched victims of necessity, to whom it seemed the lightest of evils with their own hands to kill their wives and children!

Unable, therefore, longer to support the anguish they felt for what they had done, and thinking that they wronged those whom they had put to death, by surviving them even but for a moment, they quickly heaped together all their effects, and set fire to them; and then, having chosen by lot ten of their number to slay the rest, they laid themselves down, each beside his fallen wife and children, and throwing their arms around them, made ready their throats for those who discharged the mournful office. These, having slaughtered all without flinching, adopted the same plan of drawing lots with one another, that he on whom it fell should, after killing the nine, destroy himself on the bodies of his companions. Such confidence had all in themselves, that neither in acting, nor in suffering, would one excel another. At length, the nine underwent the slaughter; whereupon he who stood single and last, having inspected the prostrate multitude, to see

whether haply in so wide a murder any were left still requiring his hand, and having ascertained that all were dead, set fire to the palace; and then driving his sword with one collected effort completely through his body, fell down beside his family.

They died under the impression that nothing among them drawing the breath of life remained in the power of the Romans. An elderly woman, however, and another, related to Eleazar, in understanding and education superior to most of her sex, together with five children, escaped by concealing themselves in the subterraneous aqueducts, while the rest were intent on slaughter. Nine hundred and sixty persons, including women and children, perished on this occasion. This catastrophe occurred on the fifteenth of the month Xanthicus.

2. The Romans, still expecting opposition, were under arms by break of day; and, having with planks formed bridges from the mounds to the fortress, advanced to the assault. But seeing none of the enemy, and a dreadful solitude reigning on every side, fire within and silence, they were at a loss to conjecture what had happened. At length they shouted, as on the discharge of a missile, to call forth some of those within. The women, hearing the noise, emerged from their retreat, and informed the Romans of what had taken place; one of them distinctly narrating everything, both what was said and how the deed was done. It was with difficulty, however, that they listened to her, disbelieving so extraordinary a story. Exerting themselves to extinguish the flames, they quickly opened a passage through them, and reached the interior of the palace. Here lighting on a heap of slain, instead of rejoicing as over enemies, they admired the nobleness of their resolve, and the immovable contempt of death which had actuated so many in executing it.

CHAPTER X.

1. THE capture being thus effected, the general, leaving a guard in the fortress, departed himself with his army to Cæsarea. Throughout that country not an enemy remained, completely reduced as it now was by a long-continued war—a war which had been felt by many even in places far remote from Judæa, and had been to them a source of danger and disorder. Moreover, after these events, it so happened that at Alexandria in Egypt many of the Jews lost their lives. For

some of the faction of the Sikars, who had succeeded in escaping thither, not content with safety, again engaged in new projects, and endeavoured to persuade many who had received them as guests to assert their freedom, to look upon the Romans as nothing better than themselves, and to regard God alone as their Lord. When opposed in their designs by several Jews of respectability, they murdered them:—the rest they continued to press with invitations to revolt.

Seeing their frenzy, the leading men of the council of elders, thinking it no longer safe for them to overlook their proceedings, convened a general assembly of the Jews, and there exposed the madness of the Sikars, whom they proved to be the source of all their misfortunes. “And now,” they said, “those men, inasmuch as they had not even by their flight from Judæa attained any sure hope of safety—for when recognised by the Romans they would instantly be put to death—were seeking to involve those who had no participation in their crimes in the calamity which was due to themselves.” They, therefore, exhorted the multitude to ward off the destruction with which they were menaced by these men, and, by delivering them up, to make their apology to the Romans.

Accordingly, perceiving the magnitude of the danger, the people embraced the proposal, and, rushing furiously upon the Sikars, secured them. Six hundred of them were taken on the spot; and those who effected their escape into Egypt and the Egyptian Thebes, were ere long arrested and brought back. On this occasion, such was their firmness, and such their desperation, or strength of purpose, whichever we may call it, that it could not but excite astonishment in every one. For, under every bodily torture and suffering, devised for this one object—to make them acknowledge Cæsar as their lord, not one complied, nor was shaken for a moment; but, submitting to the rack and the flames, as if with bodies insensible, and with souls that almost rejoiced in them, all, despite their sufferings, kept their resolve. But what most struck the spectators was the deportment of the children, not one of whom could be moved to call Cæsar lord. So completely did the force of endurance control the weakness of their bodies.

2. Lupus, who then administered affairs in Alexandria, sent intelligence of these commotions without delay to Cæsar; who, suspecting the inextinguishable thirst of the Jews for innovation, and apprehensive that they might again collect together in great numbers, and draw others away with them, ordered Lupus to destroy the temple of Onias, so called, which was in the district of Egypt, of the same

name. It was built, and received its designation, under the following circumstances. Onias, son of Simon, and one of the chief priests of Jerusalem, fleeing from Antiochus, king of Syria, who was at war with the Jews, came to Alexandria. Having been cordially welcomed by Ptolemy, owing to the hatred which the latter bore to Antiochus, he told him that, "if he would accede to his proposal, he would make the Jewish nation his ally." The king promising to do all in his power, he requested permission to rear a temple in some part of Egypt, and to worship God according to the usages of his country; "for the Jews," he said, "would thus be rendered still more hostile to Antiochus, who had laid waste their temple in Jerusalem; while they would regard him with greater affection, and many would gather round his standard for the sake of freedom of worship."

3. Prevailed on by this statement, Ptolemy gave him a tract of country, a hundred and eighty furlongs distant from Memphis. It was called the prefecture of Heliopolis. Here Onias, having erected a fortress, built with stones of large dimensions a temple sixty cubits high, not like that in Jerusalem, but resembling a tower. The altar, however, he constructed on the model of that at home, and ornamented the temple similarly with offerings, except as regards the fashion of the candlestick. For he made no stand at all; but suspended the lamp by a golden chain, the lamp itself being fashioned of gold, and throwing a blaze of light upon the place. The whole of the sacred area was surrounded with a wall of baked brick, the doorways being of stone. The king, moreover, granted him an extensive district as a source of revenue, both that the priests might have abundance, and that there might be a plentiful supply of necessaries for the service of God.

Onias, however, did not act herein from sound motives. Still harbouring resentment for his exile, his aim was rather to rival the Jews in Jerusalem; and he hoped, by erecting this structure, to draw the multitude away from them to it. There was, moreover, an ancient prediction of about six hundred years' standing, delivered by a prophet named Esaias, who foretold the erection of this temple in Egypt by a man of Jewish birth. Thus, then, it was that the temple was built.

4. Lupus, the governor of Alexandria, on receipt of Cæsar's letter, repaired to the temple, and, having carried away some of the offerings, shut up the building. He soon after died, being succeeded in command by Paulinus, who utterly despoiled the edifice of its offerings, threatening the priests with his severe displeasure, should they not produce them all. He prohibited those who wished to worship from approaching the sacred arca; and, closing the gates, completely

debarred all entrance to it, so as to leave not even a vestige of divine worship in the place. From the erection to the shutting up of this temple, there elapsed three hundred and forty-three years.

CHAPTER XI.

1. THE desperation of the Sikars fastened, like a contagion, on the cities around Cyrene also. Jonathan, a most abandoned man, a weaver by trade, having taken refuge in that town, prevailed on not a few of the indigent to give heed to him, and led them forth into the desert, promising to show them signs and portents. The multitude, not seeing through his artifices, gave credit to the imposition; but the men of rank among the Jews of Cyrene sent to Catullus, governor of the Libyan Pentapolis, information of his march into the wilderness, and of his preparations. Catullus, having despatched a body of horse and foot, obtained an easy victory over unarmed men. The greater part perished in the encounter; a few were made prisoners, and conducted to Catullus. Jonathan, the originator of the scheme, effected his escape for the moment; but, an extensive and very diligent search being made through the country, he was taken. On being brought before the governor, he devised a means of extricating himself from punishment, while he afforded Catullus a pretext for acts of injustice; falsely accusing the most opulent of the Jews of having prompted him in the matter.

2. These calumnies were readily listened to by Catullus, who, by greatly exaggerating the affair, invested it with serious importance, in order that he too might appear to have happily terminated a Jewish war. But what was more grievous than this—he not only lent easy credence, but, moreover, actually tutored the Sikars in false accusation. He, accordingly, directed Jonathan to name one Alexander, a Jew, with whom having quarrelled some time before he was now at open enmity, and to implicate in the allegations his wife Berenice. These were his first victims. He next slew at one blow all the more opulent of the Jews, to the number of three thousand; a step which he thought he might safely venture on, as he added their property to the revenues of the emperor.

3. But, lest any of the Jews elsewhere should expose his injustice, he gave his falsehood a wider range, and prevailed on Jonathan, and

some of those who had been apprehended along with him, to prefer a charge of sedition against the most respectable of the Jews both in Alexandria and Rome. Among those thus insidiously criminated was Josephus, the writer of this history. The scheme, however, did not succeed according to Catullus' expectations. He repaired indeed to Rome, taking with him Jonathan and his associates in chains, thinking that the false allegations brought forward before him and at his instance would put an end to all further inquiry. But Vespasian, who had his suspicions on the subject, investigated the facts; and having ascertained that the charge preferred against these men was unjust, at the special instance of Titus he acquitted them of the accusations, and inflicted on Jonathan the punishment he had deserved. He was burnt alive, having been previously tortured.

4. On Catullus, for the present, owing to the lenity of the emperors, no further censure was passed; but not long after he was attacked by a complicated and incurable disease, and died miserably; not only tormented in body, but still more deeply disordered in mind. For he was distracted with terrors, and incessantly cried out that he saw the figures of those whom he had murdered standing beside him. And unable to restrain himself, he would leap out of his bed, as if fire and torture were being applied to him. His malady daily increasing, his bowels ulcerated and fell out; and thus he expired, furnishing evidence, than which none can be more striking, that God, in His providence, visits the wicked with punishment.

5. Here we close our history; which we promised to draw up with all accuracy, for the information of those who wish to learn in what manner the Romans conducted this war against the Jews. Of its style, be it left to those who shall read it to judge: but, as regards truth, I would not hesitate confidently to say, that, throughout the entire narrative, this has been my single aim.



TITVS

GAZA



GAZA.

GAZA, one of the most populous and important towns of Palestine, is also one of those concerning which no doubt can be entertained as to its history. Throughout the lapse of ages, from the remotest eras of the Hebrew nation onward to modern times, Gaza is the same. This place, at present containing a variable population of about fifteen thousand souls, is situated on a low eminence, spreading its scattered buildings upon the plains around it. The town stands under the shelter of a range of hills toward the east, which run in an almost unbroken line, parallel to the coast, and at rather more than an hour's distance from it. This line of hills forms the background of the view seen in the Plate.

The soil of the narrow track of land between the hills to the east, and a line of sandy ridges toward the coast, is very fertile, and supplies, not the town merely, but the caravans which pass this way, with every variety of fruit, and in the highest perfection. An extensive olive grove fills the plain northward from the city; while gardens and palm-trees adorn and enrich its suburbs. It offers however but few monuments of antiquity to gratify the curiosity of the European traveller; the remains of its former structures meeting the eye only in some broken columns, lying about, or converted to ignoble purposes in the construction of the modern buildings.

Two mosques show their minarets in the view, which, however, does not embrace the more extensive quarter of the town. Everywhere the prickly pear luxuriates, and effectively hedges in many of the gardens.

 POOL OF BETHESDA :

So denominated by those who have taken upon themselves the task of determining "the sacred sites" of the Holy City. The spacious excavation here represented runs along the northern wall of the Haram enclosure, from its eastern side, to a distance of about 360 feet. The spectator in this view is standing just within that northern prolongation of the Haram wall which extends from the corner of the quadrangle to St. Stephen's Gate; he is, therefore, looking in a direction *nearly* due west; or toward the Latin Convent. In the view of the NORTH-EAST CORNER, the eye crosses the ground whence *this* view was taken; and *this* connects itself also, as to proximity, with the portion of the wall shown in that Plate. This fosse measures 130 feet in width; its depth, beneath the general level of the surface, and if measured down to the average level of the bottom, irregularly filled as it is with rubbish—the accumulation of ages, is about 75 feet.

There is a drainage of water at the bottom, surrounded with a growth of the prickly pear, and with some garden produce. A lining of stone, covered with plaster, on the walls, indicates that the cavity was in fact a reservoir; and not improbably it supplied the adjoining Fort Antonia. The wall on the right hand shows in parts the ancient masonry found throughout in the substructures of the Haram wall. The lofty archways, seen at the extremity, are assumed by the monks to be two of the "Five Porches" which belonged to the "Pool."

This is one of those spots in the Holy City where an extensive and leisurely exploration, carried on under the eye and control of English scholars, might probably reward cost and labour. There is little risk in advancing the conjecture that beneath the surface-rubbish, which has been accumulating during centuries, and which, probably, has never been disturbed, the massive materials that were dislodged by the Roman crow-bar, after the taking of the City, still lie, waiting their time. Among these stones, thrown from their places, would almost certainly be found arms, accoutrements, and coins—Jewish and Roman, the bringing to light of which might subserve purposes more important than that of gratifying antiquarian curiosity.

TIBERIAS, AND THE LAKE.

THE "Sea of Galilee," which by its sacred associations so much kindles the enthusiasm of the Christian traveller, has too often—almost always, been presented to the eye of those who do not travel, in a manner which a better and more truthful feeling must condemn. This inland water is not a Westmoreland lake; nor is it a Swiss, nor an Italian lake. In an instance such as this, what we want is not picturesque effect; but the bare truth of representation. The artist's best skill is shown in forgetting his skill—his skill in *making up* effects—and in giving us the actual forms and aspect of the spot. To convey to the mind the drear and rugged features, and the dead and sombre hues of this landscape, with the *not* Alpine contour of its boundary heights, should be his aim. The sublimity of this scene is that which it derives from the evangelic record:—its beauty, in the eye of the Christian traveller, is that with which his own profound emotions invest it. The unadorned features of the Sea of Tiberias are, it is believed, faithfully presented in the Plates—Vol. I. MAGDALA—THE HOT BATHS OF TIBERIAS—TARICHEA—REMAINS OF A THEATRE, and in the Plate now before us.

The point of view, in this instance, is from a spot about a mile distant from the town, bearing nearly south from it, and the direction of the eye is N. W. by N., that is to say, toward the snowy heights of Jebel esh Sheikh—

Mount Hermon—which here rise over the hills surrounding the lake, a little to the right of the centre of the view. This lofty range is seen at the direct distance of nearly fifty miles. The dark sweep of hills to the right is the eastern wall of this crater ; and which is much more rugged and barren than the western side. Through the gorge, marked by the slope on which the light falls, the Jordan enters the lake. Among the slopes to the left, are the supposed sites of Magdala, and Capernaum ; and on the extreme left is Safed. It is rather less than two-thirds of the length of the lake, or about nine miles, that is seen in this view.

A solitary sail catches the eye upon this expanse, which, in the times of the Gospel history, was crowded with fishing vessels, and sometimes ruffled by the thousand oars of a Roman fleet.

The town of Tiberias, desolate as it had long been, now exhibits the added desolations that were caused by the earthquake of 1832. Its wall, however, still stands. It contains a synagogue, a Christian church, and a mosque, and affords such accommodation to the traveller as he may be willing to accept, at the cost of nights of torture, to be endured within the realm of the “king of the fleas.”

TRIPOLI AND CASTLE.

TRIPOLI, touching near upon the northern border of the land given to the Israelitish people, is one of those places on the Syrian coast which has held its notoriety in history, continuously, from the earliest historic period, down to modern times. Three cities, or boroughs—as its name indicates, adjoined each other in ancient times ;—the three probably commanded by the hill which is presented in this view, and the position of which would give its occupants entire military sway over the surrounding towns and country. Its maritime advantages (at least in the present state of the coast) are not great ; but they are sufficient to render it a centre of some foreign trade. The Castle and town stand back from the sea, about a mile. The elevation, whence this view was taken, commands a reach of the coast southward as far as to the headland of Beyroot ; and toward the left, the ranges of Lebanon—a fair prospect always, and whencesoever seen.

THE JEWS' PLACE OF WAILING.

By comparing several Plates given in the course of this work, and which have already been described, the reader will understand what is the relative position of the area, represented in *this* Plate, and where the Jew of modern

times has been permitted to buy, from year to year, a licence to moisten with his tears the stones of the "Beautiful House" of his ancestors.

The Plate first to be referred to for the purpose of this topographic explication, is the outline—EL AKSA, and the WALL from the Brow of Zion, Vol. I. p. xx.; in which the southern extremity of the Haram wall, on its western side, confronts the eye; and in which the spring-stones are seen in their general position. Low Turkish buildings abut upon the wall on the left hand. These buildings are seen in front, and the same wall in perspective in the finished Plate—REMAINS OF AN ARCH, springing from the Haram wall (west): a front view of which is shown in the outline Plate—ELEVATION OF THE WALL AND SPRING-STONES, p. xxv. The Jews' "Place of Wailing," is a narrow paved court, commencing a few paces on from the rear of the Turkish buildings, just above mentioned, and three times that distance south of the PRINCIPAL ENTRANCE, already shown. The spire seen surmounting the wall in *that* Plate, here shows itself over the angle of the wall, and in the direction of sight. In some recent representations an attempt has been made, as is very usual, to invest this spot with the "sublime" in pictorial effect. Let it be enough to show it *as it is*, invested with the true sublimity which attaches to it when regarded in its simple historic significance.

It should be noticed, that the pavement of this area—the Place of Wailing—is on a level many feet below that of the interior plateau of the Haram. The first, second, and third ranges of stones, counting upwards, as seen in this view, indicate the level to which they belong, as compared with the Plates, Vol. I. which exhibit the southern extremity of this same western wall; and in the Outline it is seen that the Mosque, El Aksa, stands on higher ground, considerably. This becomes evident in referring to the view of the DOUBLE ARCH, p. xxii., showing the entrance to the vaults beneath the mosque; this entrance being on a level with the Spring-Stones; and between the pavement of the outer vault, and the general surface of the Haram courts, there intervene two flights of steps—one at the entrance, as here seen, and one at the further extremity; as well as the height of the vault, which is about thirty-five feet. A very careful examination of the surface of the stones, and of the joinings, would be necessary in order to determine, with any certainty, the level beneath which the Cyclopean masonry may be regarded as having been unmoved "throughout all time," and above which it may be thought that the original materials have been replaced in later times. Such a line—higher and lower at different places, would, on the spot now before us, be drawn through the joint dividing the fourth from the fifth range of stones; some portions of this fifth range seeming to belong to the ancient masonry. On this supposition, which is confirmed, as we have seen, by examination of the eastern and southern Haram walls, the overthrow and the upturning effected by the Roman legions, at the command of Titus, reached down some way below *the visible level of the Temple buildings*, and of its surrounding courts and

porehes. It is true, therefore, that the wailing Jew, as he stands moistening these stones with his tears, touches, with his trembling and clammy hand, the very work of his remote ancestors :—the present general level of the surface around the Haram brings the modern Jew exactly upon the range which *historically belongs to him* ; while it keeps him far *beneath* that level which exhibits and attests the fulfilment of their Messiah's prediction.

CONJECTURAL VIEW OF THE VIADUCT, AS IN THE TIME OF HEROD.

In a lengthened note, descriptive and explanatory (Vol. I. pp. xxv.—xxix.) of the Plate representing THE REMAINS OF AN ARCH, the probable position and use of the "Bridge," mentioned by Josephus, has been shown. It has there also been stated, as probable in the highest degree which stops short of direct demonstration, that the spring-stones exhibited in that Plate, are the actual commencements of the first of these arches, which must have given support to the viaduct. In offering to the reader's notice this conjectural Plate, nothing more is intended than to show—on the supposition that the ancient bridge *did* bestride the Tyropæon at this spot—how it would connect the courts of the Temple with the opposite slope of Zion. In this instance no ambitious attempt has been made to embody such conceptions as might easily be formed of the architecture of this bridge. A general idea only of the aspect which it might present, as seen from the turn of the valley, is aimed at. Beyond and above the viaduct, the heights of Aera and Bezetha are dimly indicated. On the left hand, and in shadow, as when the sun is declining, is the eastern declivity of Zion ; and at the point where the viaduct abuts upon this slope, would run the covered colonnade and terraces, or Xystus, whence Agrippa harangued the Jews during the siege, as they crowded the opposite colonnades and roofs of the Temple. At present the deep valley which these arches span, is filled with the materials of the Temple and city—consolidated in the lapse of ages by the soil and rubbish that has been washed on to the surface, and which has sunk into it from year to year. Here again is a spot where explorations would most surely yield a rich product of Jewish and Roman antiquities.

MASADA.

THREE views of this remarkable spot—a spot never before pictorially represented, are now presented to the reader. We first turn to the Plate, Vol. I. p. 126, MASADA, THE DEAD SEA, AND THE MOUNTAINS OF MOAB.

In this view the direction of sight is nearly due east, and the spectator occupies a crag of the lofty ridge, west of the Dead Sea, which, at this level, branches off toward the desert. The traveller, therefore, has now reached the rim of that vast crater, the depths of which—the awful bituminous abyss—are concealed by the dense waters of this sea. Opposite to him are the Mountains of Moab—a more southerly part of the range which is seen from the summit of Olivet. Beneath this range, and spreading itself out into the sea, far toward the western shore, is a remarkable peninsula of low level, covered, for the most part, with a saline incrustation, as if with snow. On this, that is to say the western side of the sea, and at the distance of about seven miles from the heights on which the spectator stands, the precipitous Masada rises from near the margin of the sea. Between this rock and the foreground, there stretches out, in hideous confusion, the jagged ridges, the feet of which, following the general declivity, reach the sea.

The Plate next to be referred to is the one that appeared in the Prospectus, and which is here brought into its place. The direction of sight in this view is north-east by east. A portion therefore of the sea, with the mountains beyond, is seen on the right hand; and on the left in the extreme distance, the summits of the same range.

A wintry torrent—Wady Senein, finds its way through the ravine in front of the hill, and between it and the precipices, among which the spectator stands. A less considerable watercourse is seen on the left hand, winding its way through the clefts of the rocks, and delivering its volume, (during the rainy season) at a leap, to join itself with the larger stream in the depth below.

Upon a somewhat level space to the left of the cleft, just mentioned, there occur indications of military works, in a sort of gridiron figure. Indications still more distinct are found in two other places; one on the level near the shore, and another on the opposite side of the hill, and at a spot just beyond the escarped rocks, to the left, in this Plate. Both travellers in this instance—Mr. Tipping and his companion Mr. Woleott, thought themselves warranted in regarding these remains as marking the sites of the encampments of the Roman legions under Flavius Silva. In exhibiting the remarkable features of this hill, pains have been taken to show, not merely its picturesque aspect, but geologically its structure—the red limestone resting upon the chalk. The front, represented in this Plate, is the most precipitous of the three, if not the loftiest.

We now turn to the large Plate—MASADA: North Front. The direction of sight is here south-east. The portion of the sea which appears on the left hand, is the extreme recess or bay, formed by the promontory already mentioned. The distant mountains, therefore, are those of Gebel.

Near to the sharp summit of the hill, as seen in this view, there are traces of what may be regarded as the defences which the desperate company under Eleazar either availed themselves of, or constructed, with the hope of maintaining their position against the Roman legions.



W. LIPPING

MASADA

In its bearing upon the History of THE JEWISH WAR, and upon the credit due to Josephus, a very high importance must be allowed to attach to the subject now before us ; nor should it be thought strange if a traveller, whose errand in Palestine was to illustrate, by his pencil, the writings of the Jewish historian, should congratulate himself, or should be warmly congratulated by his friends, when he finds himself the first traveller in modern times who, at leisure, has examined so signal a spot ; and the first, certainly, to lay them pictorially before the world.

The charge of "exaggeration," especially in what relates to magnitude, has been more often made than substantiated, as the besetting sin of Josephus. He has no doubt erred on this side, in some few instances ; but in others, where the same imputation has been thrown upon him, that better acquaintance with Palestine which modern researches have put within our reach, has served to restore his credit as a well-informed and an exact reporter of topographic facts. We have a remarkable instance of this sort now before us.

The terrific catastrophe of the Jewish War—or its last awful suicidal slaughter—was transacted, as related by our author, upon the summit of a rocky pile, situated on the western shore of the Asphaltic lake. This almost inaccessible height had been rendered, as it was thought, impregnable by Herod : who had not only fortified, but had furnished it also, at a vast cost, as a last retreat for himself, should the turbulence of the Jewish people, or rather his own ferocious treatment of them, drive him, like the hunted tiger, to his lair. Josephus describes this steep with unusual particularity, and it will be found that his description of it is well sustained by that to which we now invite the reader's attention.

The surrounding region is the most wildly rugged imaginable, and has at all times been the home and haunt of the most ruthless of the Bedouin tribes, who thence have sallied forth to wage war upon whoever was not too strong for them. Dr. Robinson, as it seems, was the first of modern travellers to indicate, or conjecturally to identify, this eminence as the "Masada" of Josephus ; but he did not visit it. From his position at Ain Jeddy, and at the distance of fourteen miles, he descried it with his glass : inviting toward it the attention of future travellers. *Bib. Res.* vol. ii. p. 240.

It was this intimation that led Mr. Tipping to deviate from the ordinary route of travellers visiting the Dead Sea ; and, in fact, to make an excursion from Jerusalem for the express purpose of discovering, exploring, and delineating this spot. In company with Mr. Wolcott, the American missionary, he set out, March 7th, 1842, and both employed themselves diligently, during more than a week, in accomplishing the object of their journey. Mr. Tipping's account of this exploration will best bring the scene before the mind of the reader ; he says :—

"At 10.15 we reached the Wady Seyâl, at the line between the last two divisions, where it breaks down into a magnificent chasm. Ascending its southern bank, we came in three-quarters of an hour to the brow of a hill, from which we had our first view of Sebbeh, bearing east, still two

miles distant. Descending the steep declivity by a zigzag path, and crossing slopes of a burnt aspect, we reached about noon the western base of the Rock of Sebbeh, where we are now encamped. The declivity which we descended introduced us to scenery of which the pass of Ain Jedy will give you a fair idea. Rocky precipices of a rich reddish-brown colour surrounded us ; and before us, across a scorched and desolate tract, were the cliff of Sebbeh with its ruins ; the adjacent heights with rugged defiles between, and the Dead Sea lying motionless in its bed beneath. The aspect of the whole was that of a lonely and stern grandeur. The Rock of Sebbeh is opposite to the peninsula, and is itself separated from the water's edge by a shoal or sand-bank, two or three miles in width, from north to south. This extends out, on the northern side of the cliff, which projects beyond the mountain range. The mountains on the south are in a line with it, and of the same height, and it is separated from them by the deep and precipitous Wady Sinein. On the west, a smaller wady separates it from more moderate hills, above which it rises. Its insulation is thus complete. We encamped at the western base ; and after resting a little made the ascent from the same side, and accomplished it without difficulty, using occasionally both hands and feet, and proceeding at the steepest point on an embankment which remains. This is the only spot where the rock can now be climbed ; the pass on the east, described by Josephus, seems to have been swept away. The language of that historian respecting the loftiness of the site is not very extravagant. It requires firm nerves to stand upon the verge of its steepest sides, and look directly down. The depth at these points cannot be less than a thousand feet, and we thought it more. The highest points of the rock are on the north, and the south-west ; the ground sloping in a gentle wady towards the south-east corner. The whole area we estimated at three-quarters of a mile in length, from north to south, and a third of a mile in breadth. There are no traces of vegetation, except in the bottoms of some of the open cisterns. On approaching the rock from the west, the 'white promontory,' as Josephus appropriately calls it, is seen on this side near the northern end. This is the point where the siege was pressed and carried ; and here we ascended. Both before and after the ascent we observed the 'wall built round about the entire top of the hill by king Herod ;' all the lower part of which remains. Its colour was the same dark red as the rock, though it is said to have been 'composed of white stone ;' but on breaking the stone, it appeared that it was naturally whitish, and had been burnt brown by the sun. In the existing foundations we could trace only the general outlines of the structures which Josephus describes. The peculiar form of some, composed of long parallel rooms, indicated that they had been store-houses or barracks, rather than private dwellings. The architecture, both of the wall and of the buildings, was of one kind, consisting of rough stones quarried probably on the summit, laid loosely together, and the interstices filled in with small pieces of stone. It had the appearance of cobbled work. We thought, at first, it could hardly

be the work of Herod ; but there can be no doubt that it is so. The stone is of the most durable kind, and there are no traces of more ancient work ; and these would be almost the only materials accessible in such a spot. Near the head of the ascent is a modern ruin, consisting chiefly of a gateway of square hewn stones, with a pointed arch. We saw no other architecture which we thought to be of the same age. Near this is a small building with a circular recess in the eastern wall of its principal room. Forty or fifty feet below the northern summit are the foundations of a round tower, to which we did not attempt to descend. Near by are windows cut in the rock, with their sides whitened, probably belonging to some large cistern now covered up. We found a cistern excavated in the south-west corner of the rock, with similar windows in its southern end at the top, and with a descent to a doorway in the top of its northern end, from which a flight of steps descends into the cistern itself. It is nearly fifty feet deep, a hundred long, and forty broad ; and its walls are still covered with a white cement, which served us for an album. The other cisterns that we saw were not large ; and some of them were still covered over with small round arches. Fragments of pottery lay scattered on the surface of the rock. But the relic which perhaps interested us the most, was without the rock, on the ground below. Josephus says, that the Roman general 'built a wall quite around the entire fortress.' As we stood on the summit of the rock, we could trace every part of that wall, carried along the low ground, and, wherever it met a precipice, commencing again on the high summit above ; thus making the entire circuit of the place. Connected with it, at intervals, were the walls of the Roman camps, built as described by Josephus in his chapter on the Roman armies and camps. The principal camps were opposite the north-west and south-east corners ; the former being the spot where Josephus places that of the Roman general. The outline of the works, as seen from the heights above, is as complete as if they had been but recently abandoned. We afterwards examined the wall in places ; and found it six feet broad, and built like the walls above, but more rudely. It had of course crumbled, and was probably never high. It brought the siege before us with an air of reality ; and recalled to our minds, as we looked upon it, the awful immolation which had taken place on the spot where we stood. It was also a stupendous illustration of the Roman perseverance that subdued the world, which could sit down so deliberately, in such a desert, and commence a siege with such a work ; and, I may add, which could scale such a fortress. We found among the rocks below a round stone, which had probably been hurled from a catapult. We launched, by way of diversion, some of the large stones from the original wall towards the Dead Sea ; none of which reached the Roman lines, half a mile or more distant ; though some of them stopped not far short, making the most stupendous bounds. I was desirous of making the circuit of the rock. The declivity which we had descended in reaching it left us on an off-set of the mountain, still several hundred feet above the

sea. The Wady which runs on the west of the cliff, is on this elevation. But at the extremities of the rock, the ground suddenly breaks down into deep fissures, and soon reaches the lower level. I followed the above Wady southwards; and found that the cleft which forms the southern boundary of the rock, was a perpendicular descent from it. The south-west corner of the rock forms a kind of bastion, opposite to which the side of the Wady is shelving. Descending here carefully, I reached the bottom, walled in on three sides by rocky ramparts, their sombre craggy peaks frowning above, while torn and disjointed masses from them strewed the bed of the valley. I followed this chasm, descending steeply east by north, and in an hour from leaving the tent had not reached the east side of the rock; when I was arrested by the shouts of our Arabs on the cliff behind me, calling and beckoning to me to return. The reason I soon discovered in the appearance of three wild Bedawîn with clubs, whom they had noticed, who accosted me with a demand for a *bakhshîsh*; which however they showed no disposition to enforce. This of course put an end to further observations in that quarter—fortunately, perhaps, as in any event the circuit would have been longer and more fatiguing than I had contemplated. It was one of the most interesting circumstances connected with Sebbeh, that it commanded a complete view of the Dead Sea, which lay beneath us in its length and breadth. We spread the map before us; and were struck with its general accuracy. The peninsula appears to the eye as a flat sand-bank, in striking contrast with the bold mountains which tower above it. Though furrowed by the waters, it is still a plain. We remained at Sebbeh until March 15th; our Arabs having been kept contented the last day by a feast upon a Beden, shot on the top of the rock. Our own supplies were getting low. We had been informed that there was water near; but could obtain it only from the collections which the recent rains had left in the hollows of the rocks; confirming the remark of Josephus, that water as well as food was brought hither to the Roman army from a distance."

This remarkable spot, therefore, as thus described and delineated, may now with advantage be thought of as bearing out those statements and those descriptions of Masada which we find in *THE JEWISH WAR*. Confidently it may be affirmed that in few instances where topographical identity is in question, have modern researches better sustained the testimony of an ancient writer than they do in this instance. It is manifest that Josephus must personally, and at leisure, have made himself acquainted with this spot:—he had visited it—whether previously to the fall of his country, or afterwards; and in this case, as in others which have come before us, he proves himself to have been conversant with the facts he has to do with—observant of details, and quite as trustworthy in his reports of them as ancient writers generally are.

Josephus was not familiar, as modern travellers are, with the vastness of Alpine scenery, and therefore he was not prepared to use measured terms in speaking of heights and depths, such as those of Palestine. Those who, on their way to Palestine, sojourn in Switzerland, have already spent their



POOL OF THE VIRGIN.

HODGKIN AND STONEMAN LONDON

stock of wonder, and have quite exhausted their stores of hyperbolic phrases. But Josephus, when he speaks of chasms on either hand that inspire terror in the boldest minds, and of "depths which the eye cannot measure," speaks as one does who has been conversant only with precipices of a thousand or of twelve hundred feet; nor is it equitable, when he does so, to accuse him of indulging a habit of culpable exaggeration. Masada and its remains must be allowed to corroborate, in a very remarkable manner, the averments of the author of the "Wars of the Jews."

POOL OF THE VIRGIN.

THIS well, or pool, occurs upon the rocky slope of Ophel, at the distance of about 300 yards from the south side of the Haram, and nearly opposite the middle point of the wall. This excavation, and the structures attaching to it, indicate a remote antiquity. What is presented in this plate is the platform, or stone-paved stage, which is reached after descending sixteen steps from the external entrance. The female figure, with her pitcher, is seated on the edge of a flight of ten steps leading to the surface of the water.

The remarkable fact has already been adverted to, Vol. I. p. lvii., that Jerusalem, situated as it is upon an elevated mountainous tract, almost destitute of natural springs, has nevertheless, at all times, enjoyed an ample and never-failing supply of water. The known sources of this supply have also been named; and the supposition has been advanced that, in accordance with a traditionary belief, a copious natural spring rises deep within the temple enclosure. Notwithstanding its improbability, this supposition has acquired support from explorations made not long ago by Mr. Wolcott on the one side of the Haram, and by him, Dr. Robinson, and Mr. Tipping on the other.

The Kedron is a winter torrent only; the bed of the stream being entirely dry except during, and for a short time after, the rainy season. It is not from *this* source, therefore, that any perpetual supply can be obtained. There is no doubt that deep-seated channels convey water from the Gihon Pools into the reservoirs of the Haram, which also would receive the surface water of that extensive area. A natural spring may further augment these gatherings, which, as it seems, have at all times exceeded the use and waste—large as it must have been, first of the Jewish, and since of the Mohammedan ceremonial. This surplus finds its way through a tunnel, extending from the Haram, in a direction parallel to the Kedron, but considerably above the level of its bed. It first emerges in the well or cistern, a view of which we have now before us—the water in which, from whatever source it comes, ebbs and flows, at irregular periods, twice or thrice in the twenty-four hours. From this cistern, as it seems, the tunnel is continued along the

sloping ridge of Ophel, and again comes to light in the Pool of Siloam, whence again, probably, it goes on to the junction of the two valleys, where it enters the well of Job. Although a difference of quality has been noted, as distinguishing the water of the latter well from that of the two above it, this may sufficiently be accounted for by the fact that this lowest reservoir receives the drainage from the two valleys, in addition to that which overflows into it from those upper sources. This lower neighbourhood is beautified by gardens of great luxuriance, the irrigation of which exhausts, probably, the waters which might otherwise fill a channel, in the valley lower down.

STONE AT BAALBEC.

THE huge mass which occupies the foreground in this Outline Plate, has been examined and mentioned by most of those who have visited Baalbec. In its dimensions it corresponds with several of the foundation stones of the Temple of the Sun, being sixty-eight (or nine) feet in length, thirteen in depth, and eighteen in breadth. The quarry where it lies is more than a mile distant from the principal ruins; and without doubt it was destined to take its place among the substructures where its fellows are now found. "By what machinery," asks Lord Nugent, "they were placed on this level, by what machinery moved there, up an inclined plane of masonry which it is supposed was built in front of the range for this operation, and afterwards removed,—or how they were brought from the quarry, more than a mile off, where a fourth, of the size of the largest of the three, still lies hewn ready for removal;—how the strain of such powers could be applied so equally as to deal with such masses of a kind of coarse large-grained marble without breaking them—these are mysteries which mechanical science may perhaps arrive at the mode of solving, but all who cannot undertake very high questions indeed of this sort must be content with wondering at."—*Lands &c.* ch. ix.

ANATHOTH.

THE name Anata, belonging to a spot about five miles from Jerusalem, on the northern route, has seemed to identify it with the Anathoth of Scripture—the birth-place of Jeremiah. The direction of sight in this view is toward the east; and the hills which, with so uniform an outline, skirt the distance, are those which wall in the valley of the Jordan on its left bank, a glimpse of which is obtained from the ridge whence this view was taken. The buildings in the mid-distance exhibit traces of ancient masonry, of a substantial kind. The Arab village clustered around these structures is poor and mean.



QUARRYING LIME IN THE QUARRY, BAALBEK

NOTE RELATIVE TO MAPS OF GALILEE.

AT an early period of his engagement in this work, the Editor gave much attention to the preparation of a Map of Galilee, adapted to the LIFE OF JOSEPHUS, and which should exhibit every particle of the knowledge that may now be collected concerning the geographical position of the places therein named, and their identity with spots on the modern map: in fact, a small map, prepared with this intention, had actually been engraved. It was however manifest that a map, faithfully confining itself to what is *known*, and as faithfully putting on one side whatever is matter only of surmise or conjecture, would make a very meagre appearance. It is quite true that maps enough of Palestine are to be met with, elaborately and learnedly prepared, and admirably executed, which are crowded with names—ancient as well as modern. But let the question be put—To how many of these names of ancient cities, towns, and villages, has the position they severally occupy been assigned on any ground of positive evidence whatever? As an example, let us take the range of country, about twenty miles wide, and fifty in length, north and south, of which the Lake of Tiberias forms the central feature. It is just this district, within which Josephus, as governor of Galilee, acted the part, the details of which are given in his autobiography:—and which, in the Apostolic age, and until after the destruction of the Jewish polity, was densely peopled, and crowded with cities, towns, and villages.

Now it is a matter of course that the ancient names of the natural features of the country—its mountains, its waters, rivers, and streams, should be authentically known; and they *are* known, with very few exceptions. The features of the country—geologically—being liable to little if any change, the map-maker finds no difficulty as to all such permanent objects, while inserting the ancient, beneath their modern names. And then again, in relation to a country so thoroughly known, and so copiously described by ancient authors, as was Syria, little, if any ambiguity can attach to the task of locating the *district names*, or in tracing the boundaries either of Roman provinces, or of native governments. But it is quite otherwise as to the names of cities and towns, and of particular spots. Josephus, in his narrative of his government of Galilee, introduces about forty such names: that is to say, places which must find a locality *somewhere* within the limits above-mentioned, around the Lake of Tiberias. Of this forty, not more than ten can be assigned to their spots on a modern map, on grounds of evidence—conclusive, or such as might be accepted as *sufficient*. As to the thirty—the *incognita*, a probable surmise might dispose of a few—perhaps of five or six. The position of the remainder is absolutely unknown. It is true, they all make their appearance in modern maps of the “*Palestina Antiqua*,” but it may well be questioned if any useful purpose whatever

is subverted by such insertions; or whether, on the contrary, they are not of ill consequence in more ways than one. Maps thus prepared, *ad libitum*, lend the student of ancient history astray, and do him a gratuitous injury.

Let a single instance be taken, and it is one which well serves to bear up the allegations now advanced. Every reader of the *WAR* naturally turns to the map he may have at hand to find this—"Jotapata"—a place so much signalized by the courage and pertinacity of the Jews, under the command of the historian, in defending it against all the besieging apparatus of the Roman art of war, and against all the skill and valour of the commander and his soldiers. Where was this Jotapata—a place marked too by its natural features, one would think, beyond reach of doubt? In the less recent maps of Palestine "Jotapata" duly appears *whereabouts* it should come. In some of the more recent maps an endeavour has been made to approximate to the probable site, on some grounds of inferential reasoning—but yet in obvious disregard of those *physical* indications which should be determinative in an instance of this sort. A sounder discretion has induced Dr. Robinson to exclude this name—important as it is—from the map that accompanies his *Biblical Researches*, and he has taken the same course as to many other names which copiously decorate ordinary maps. Mr. Tipping, during his stay in the neighbourhood of the Galilean lake, did not fail to make search for a spot which, it might have been imagined, an adventurous and intelligent traveller would very probably succeed in discovering. Nevertheless, all such endeavours proved fruitless.

And if neither the learned at home, nor intelligent travellers, have been able to lay down so remarkable a spot on our maps—it is not wonderful that, as to less remarkable places, the position hitherto assigned them is, for the most part, unsustained by any species or shadow of evidence. What satisfaction, then, can result from an endeavour to *make up* a map, professedly intended to elucidate the statements of an ancient writer, when, in fact, no means—or no *authentic* means are at present available for advancing a single step beyond what every one has at hand in every atlas? A time may come, and the Editor has not hesitated to express his confident belief that it will come, and is not very remote, when Palestine, coming under European control, and its ravines and caves having been cleared of the lurking Bedouens, shall be so explored, as that, by direct or indirect evidence, the uncertainties referred to in this note shall—most of them—be removed, and thus preparation made for constructing an authentic map of the "Palestina Antiqua."

NOTE RELATIVE TO THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT JERUSALEM.

DIFFICULTIES of a kind differing somewhat from those just above mentioned, attach to the task of constructing a plan of the Ancient Jerusalem—Jerusalem such as it was at the time of its overthrow by the Romans.

In this instance, as in the preceding, the Editor had made some progress in effecting what seems a desirable accompaniment to the JEWISH WAR—namely a Plan of Ancient Jerusalem; and a plate was in hand intended to be attached to the present work.

Among those sites which have been rendered memorable by the events of a distant age, few, if indeed there be any, are more distinctly marked out by the peculiarity of natural feature, than is that of Jerusalem; and assuredly none have claims comparable to its own upon the regard and curiosity of mankind. With the abundant and various aids now in our hands for bringing under the eye the abruptly broken surface of the area occupied by the modern city and its suburbs, and with the copious evidence that is to be gathered—from the canonical books—the Rabbinical literature—the scattered notices found in the Greek and Roman writers, and especially from those formal and particular descriptions of his native city which Josephus supplies—with these multifarious aids in hand it might be supposed, that to lay down upon a plan of *modern* Jerusalem a plan of the *ancient* Jerusalem, could be a work of little or no difficulty, and that at least its principal artificial confines or conterminations could furnish no matter for controversy.

And it is so to a certain extent: all ambiguity, surely, is excluded as to the general position and boundaries of the ancient city—1st, by the winding course of the precipitous ravine through which the Kedron runs, when it does run;—2d, by the equally determinate track of the more gentle valley, westward;—3d, by the confluence of the drainage of both valleys south of the city;—4th, by the not-to-be-mistaken relation of the summit of the Mount of Olives to what is assumed as the site of the temple and city. Then further—as to those extant structures which peremptorily claim for themselves a high antiquity, they *so* occur, and they are of such proportions, and have such characteristics, as consist entirely with the inferences we draw from the *natural* features of the site, and with the testimonies and descriptions of ancient authors—Josephus especially. These unquestionable remains are—1st, the existing channels, conduits, and reservoirs, connected with the intermittent stream which runs parallel with the course of the Kedron, on a higher level than its bottom;—2d, the Upper and Lower Pools, west of the city, with the aqueducts attaching to them;—3d, the massive substructures of the Haram enclosure, which, on three sides, if not on the fourth, are such as almost to exclude the possibility

of our mistaking altogether the site of the ancient temple ;—4th, the sub-structures of the Citadel, assumed to be the Hippicus of Herod's time ;—5th, those at, and about, the Damascus Gate, which are as unambiguous and determinative as any elsewhere occurring ;—6th, and finally, those suburban monuments and sepulchral remains which, on sure grounds of architectural analogy, are attributed to an age *not later* than that of the destruction of the city.

We thus seem to be fenced, on all sides, against material error in respect of the space upon, and within which, the ancient city must have housed its dense population, and have given lodgement, once in every year, to the congregated myriads of the Jewish race.

Thus far, all seems to be clear ; nevertheless, we have as yet ascertained only the preliminaries necessary for laying down our plan of the ancient Jerusalem. Within what compass the city generally must have stood, we cannot doubt, but we have now to lay down the course of the walls with which, successively, it was hedged in, and to plant the gates and towers, and to give position to its most noted public buildings : our part is *now* to “go round about Jerusalem—to mark *well* her bulwarks, and to *consider* her palaces.” And this survey must so be made as shall give harmony and consistency, as well to the formal statements of Josephus, as to his many incidental allusions to gates, towers, palaces, and sepulchral monuments ; and these consistencies must again consist with other extant descriptions and statements, classical and rabbinical. Now, notwithstanding some few points, undetermined, or ambiguous, in the topographical statements of Josephus, it might not have been regarded as a hopeless task to construct such a plan of the ancient city as should well, if not perfectly, satisfy all requirements therewith connected, and should afford great aid to the reader of Josephus, in following his narrative of the steps of the Roman legions throughout the weeks of that fatal summer which saw the Holy City a heap of ruins.

Nevertheless, such a task—so useful if achieved in a manner that could be satisfactory to all readers of the JEWISH WAR, seems, at the present moment, absolutely an impracticable undertaking : strange that it should be so ! But no one who is conversant with modern travels in Palestine, or with recent controversies relating to Jerusalem, can need to be informed whence this difficulty springs. The first step after the adjustment of the preliminaries above mentioned, in constructing a plan of an ancient and walled town, must be to lay down the walls. Every narrative of military operations necessarily supposes, for a good understanding of it, a clear apprehension of the track of the city bulwarks, and of the position of the towers and gates attaching to them. This is especially indispensable when a city was encircled, partially or entirely, by concentric lines of wall. The narrative of a protracted siege is perplexing in an extreme degree if the relative position of such lines of defence is unknown. But the ancient Jerusalem was embraced or subdivided by *three* such lines of defence, and

several of the structures referred to, again and again, in the narrative of the siege, abutted upon one or another of these walls. What then was their track? and what the areas they severally enclosed? As to two or three of the points of commencement, and two or three angular projections, there seems to be little room for controversy. But beyond, or rather *within*, these fixed points, every thing is strenuously debated, even up to the present moment.

An editor of the JEWISH WAR wishing, in all sincerity, to afford the reader the desirable aid of a "Plan of Ancient Jerusalem," must, therefore, in attempting so to do, take position upon a battle-field; and he must prepare himself to defend, by all available means, every inch of that position; he must, in fact, make himself a party in an eager controversy, which has enlisted, and which continues to enlist, feelings and prepossessions of no ordinary depth and intensity. An editor so placed, if he advances, must, by a sad necessity, either grievously assail the impassioned convictions of one class of readers, or utterly shock the reason of another class. It does not appear that, on this ground, at present, any middle course is open to our choice. Josephus cannot be fully understood until a controversy, springing out of the events of an obscure intermediate age, has reached some conclusion.

Some conclusion! nor ought such a result to be thought of as improbable. Once and again in the course of the Notes upon the Plates, the Editor has expressed a belief that, in the almost inevitable progress of European affairs, Palestine must come under the wing of one of the great European states—that this land will receive, ere long, a Christian and civilized government—will have a police—will afford a secure and tranquil liberty of travel and of residence—a liberty of wandering and of strolling about, even as one does in the highlands of Scotland, or in the valleys of Switzerland—that it will give leisurely opportunity to dig and to trench, to upturn and to excavate. When such a time comes, or within a period of five years after it has come, Palestine—a region not more extensive than any three of our adjoining English counties—will have opened its long-hidden secrets to antiquarian eyes:—its few square miles of soil, teeming with historic materials, will have been, if not *sifted*, yet turned over, or pierced here and there, and especially the lowest basements of the Holy City will have been moved from their places, or sufficiently exposed to view.

Such a time will not pass without yielding evidence enough for constructing an *authentic* Plan of Ancient Jerusalem; and may it not be well, until then, to hold in suspense our opinion, whatever it may be, on matters which, at present, cannot be conclusively determined? Let the Turk retire, and the Topographer may step forward.

In behalf of the Plan attached to this note, nothing is advanced beyond this—namely, that it exhibits those natural features of the site of Jerusalem—spoken of above—which seem to determine the position, and the *general limits* of the ancient city. To these natural features of the spot are

added—1st, the exterior walls of the Haram, assumed to be identical, or nearly so, with those of the Temple enclosure; and which rest, as it is believed, upon the same unmoved foundations;—2d, the course of the modern walls—coincident, undoubtedly, to some extent, with the course of the *ancient* walls;—3d, those ancient tanks, the Upper and Lower Pools of Gihon, the antiquity of which is not questioned;—and 4th, the CITADEL, or “Tower of David,” and which is believed to be identical with the Hippicus of Herod’s time. This Plan therefore, far as it comes short of what has often been attempted in regard to the topography of Ancient Jerusalem, exhibits *all* that can safely be spoken of as unquestionable; and such as it is it will afford the reader some aid in following our author’s description of the city, and his narrative of the events of the siege.

NOTES ON PASSAGES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE CHARACTER OF JOSEPHUS, AND THE HISTORIC AUTHORITY OF HIS WRITINGS.

In the introductory Essay on the “Personal character and credibility of Josephus,” an endeavour has been made to place before the reader those facts and considerations of a general kind, which, while they tend to warrant the reliance that is placed upon his testimony, as on the whole that of a trust-worthy historian, do not involve us in the difficulties which must attach to any attempt to set him forth as *personally* entitled to much respect or regard. These facts and considerations were drawn from a broad view of the whole of his extant writings, rather than *specially* from the few pages of his autobiography. But inasmuch as the idea we form of an author—an historian especially, cannot but influence, at every turn, the opinion we entertain of the value of his evidence, and the conclusions we draw from his statements, it seems desirable, in this place, to give a more exact attention to certain passages in his own history, considered as illustrative of his motives, principles, intentions; and of his position, as the historian of his nation’s fortunes and fall. These passages, therefore, we now note, in the order in which they occur.

VOL. I. PAGE 31.

. . . . *I trace my descent*

It is evident that Josephus, although he might err in the method he adopted for commending Judaism to the favour of the Gentile world, was as far as possible from wishing, either to disown the peculiar institutions of his nation, or to conceal the fact of his own Jewish origin. He introduces himself to his gentile readers, as—A JEW—and a Jewish Priest. If he

claimed nobility, it was that derived from a *fallen* sacerdotal order, and an *extinct* royal line. Even the race with which he connected himself seemed to be threatened with annihilation. This first paragraph of the *LIFE* supplies, therefore, a sufficient answer to the allegations of those who would arraign Josephus, as writing in the character of the apostate, and as the enemy of his country and nation.

Frequent instances occur in the compass of his writings which indicate the vivid sense he had of the honours of Jewish nobility, as connected with the priestly office: and it is especially to be observed that this class was scattered, and apparently becoming extinct, at the time when this Memoir was given to the world; and that the Jew, *as such*, was then treated with the utmost scorn. Josephus, we see, is careful to note the circumstances of his *maternal* pedigree. On this point the Jews, and the priests particularly, were very sensitive. The extreme care with which the purity of sacerdotal marriages was preserved is mentioned by him. (*ANTIQUITIES*, III. xii. 2.) The priests were forbidden to contract marriage "with women of ambiguous reputation, or of servile condition; or with those who had been captives, taken in war; or with any who gained their subsistence as victuallers, or who had, on any account whatever, been divorced." It was a proverbial commendation of a woman, among the Jews—as Lightfoot reports—"She is fit to be the wife of a priest!"

In the first book *AGAINST APION*, our author insists, emphatically, upon this very point, as corroborative of the authenticity of the Jewish records, which, he says, had ever remained in the care and keeping of the sacerdotal order—itself in the highest degree scrupulous as to the purity of its lineage. Not only, he says, have the sacred documents been in the charge of, and compiled by, the most eminent of the sacerdotal order, but every precaution is taken to preserve the integrity of the priestly stock. A priest must take to himself a wife of his own nation (*tribe*, in fact); and in making the choice, he must be influenced by no sordid or ambitious considerations:—the woman whom he selects must be able to establish her own pedigree, by the evidence of many witnesses. Nor is this caution observed in Judea only, but wherever the Hebrew race is scattered, as, for instance, in Egypt, Babylon, and elsewhere. And in the case of marriages contracted at a distance from the parent country, the schedules of ancestry are sent to Jerusalem, properly attested. Or when war has given rise to confusion, or has occasioned the loss of documents, as in the instances of the invasions of Antiochus Epiphanes, Pompey, and Varus, and again in the recent war, the surviving priests have been careful to prepare, from existing documents and examinations, new tables of the sacerdotal pedigrees. Any priest, adds our author, convicted of an attempt to falsify these records, is for ever forbidden to approach the altar, or to discharge other liturgical functions.

Yet what we have now particularly in view is the fact of our author's solicitude to vindicate his personal credit, on this peculiar ground. It is quite manifest that, in introducing himself to the gentile world, he is very

far from being ashamed of his origin : on the contrary, he asserts, with some anxiety, the distinctions—such as they were, which thence attached to him.

. . . . in the year that Caius Cæsar ascended the throne. . . .

A D. 37. Consequently Josephus was in his thirtieth year at the commencement of the troubles which preceded the siege of Jerusalem. His fifty-sixth year—about which period this Memoir was composed, corresponds with the eleventh year of Domitian. Hyrcanus, the eldest son of Josephus, by his first wife—from whom he soon afterwards separated, was born two years posterior to the destruction of the city. After a short interval he married a Jewess of Crete, a lady of noble family, as he states, and of noble qualities also ; who bore him the two sons mentioned in this place, and in the concluding paragraph of the Memoir. In the same place (Sect. LXXV.) he states the fact, that his first wife was one who had been captured at Cæsarea, and whom he married “at the command of Vespasian,” καὶ ἐπὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ. This circumstance, which has been adduced among the charges brought against our author, demands some explanation ; and especially as it stands connected with his own acknowledgment, just above mentioned, that it was forbidden to the priests to form a matrimonial alliance of this sort—namely, with a woman whose misfortune it was to have been, even for a time, at the disposal of an enemy. The reason of such a prohibition is obvious ; and as if to exclude a probable inculpation of his conduct on this particular ground, he is careful to add the assurance, he had not done so without a due regard to the *spirit* of the rule, the *letter* of which he had violated—ἡ γὰρ νόμῳ τινὰ παρθέρον.

A recent French writer, alluding to this fact, says,—“ Josèph . . . abjura les coutumes nationales, épousa une captive de Tarichée, mariage défendu par la loi judaïque.” But the regulations concerning the marriages of priests, mentioned by Josephus, were of no higher authority than that of the Rabbinical Traditions : therefore the marriage in question was *not* “ défendu par la loi judaïque.” Moreover, as we have said, Josephus takes care to affirm that the ground of this prohibition was superseded in his case, by the *fact* of the uncontaminated purity of this captive. Beside, the marriage itself was not a spontaneous act :—it took place while Josephus himself might at any moment have been delivered to the lictor, for execution ; and he declares that he had married at the command of him whose prisoner he was : and further, as if to rid himself of imputations on this ground, he dissolved the marriage immediately on his regaining his liberty ;—that is to say, as early as he could do so.

This incident therefore is altogether in harmony with the idea which we have formed of the personal character of Josephus. It is true he was not the man to die, rather than to compromise in the least article, his Jewish notions or convictions ; or than to tarnish his bright sacerdotal honour. But

neither was he the man to forget or to renounce these obligations. Himself a captive, he had married a captive ; but she was a virgin (and *his affirmation* of this, whether true or not, carries our present argument) ; he married at the command of the master of his life ;—but when free, he immediately availed himself of the Jewish licence of divorce ; thus, as we must grant, compromising the perpetual obligations of virtue, for the sake of those which were conventional only. Nevertheless, the incident, if equitably considered, does not justify the use that has been made of it by those who have laboured to destroy the reputation of Josephus.

PAGE 32.

. . . . *inscribed in the public records*

The expression here employed by our author—"as I have found it," *ἡν ὤραον*, inscribed in the public records or tablets, may be regarded as silently conveying the intimation of a fact, the recollection of which would awaken, in the bosom of every Jew, emotions of regret the most poignant. The destruction of the temple itself would scarcely be recalled with more pain than was excited by the thought, that the national "record office"—the *ἀρχεῖον*, containing at once the credentials of all the secular distinctions in which a Jew could take pride, and the only certain means of establishing the lineage of the expected Messiah, had not been rescued from the general conflagration of the public buildings of Acra.—WAR, VI. vi. 3.

It might be true that the more opulent Jewish houses possessed authenticated copies of the public registries ; and that, by these means, the patrician families might, for a while, be able to assert their honours. Yet these duplicates, besides that they were likely soon to be scattered and destroyed amid the perils and ill chances of captivity and exile, would unavoidably forfeit a portion of the credit to which they were really entitled, from the facility with which forgeries might be effected, to supply the place of such as had been lost. After a time, who could say whether such documents of pedigree were genuine, or supposititious ? The genuine, therefore, would avail the possessors little, liable as they were to be confounded with such as had been fabricated.

Thus was this unhappy people—although preserved as a *race*, yet destroyed as a nation, or social body. Themselves saved to wander, and to weep ; while their polity, and their worship, and their honours, were all annihilated !

By the demolition of the second temple, and by the cessation of the sacrifices, and, not least, by this destruction of the national genealogies, the hope of a Messiah to appear subsequently to this devastation of the Jewish polity, was rendered utterly irrational. In the place of a hope which had given him constancy during many seasons of cruel suffering, the Jew was now driven forth from his land, clinging to an infatuation, which himself dared not examine.

. . . . *Jerusalem, the most considerable of our cities.*

This mode of introducing the name of the "Holy City"—of all cities the most noted, may seem strange to the modern reader; and in fact it demands some explanation; but this requires that we should carry ourselves back to our author's times, and place ourselves in the position he occupied as addressing the gentile world.

Apart from such a recollection of facts, a phrase like this suggests unwarranted suspicions as to our author's actual relationship to his country.

Those conceptions of sacred awe and affection which have become associated in our minds, as Christians, with the name—Jerusalem, render it difficult for us to hear the metropolis of Palestine spoken of by classic writers in terms of little respect, indicating that it was then regarded as one of the obscure sites of ancient civilization. Yet as such, in fact, Jerusalem was accounted by a large portion of the Roman World, eastern and western, until the period when it had become the centre of Christian sentiment, and the grand emporium of those superstitions which prevailed from the fourth century, and onward.

Palestine, and its "chief city"—this not being a maritime town—were much less known or thought of among the surrounding nations, than might have been imagined; and it is not without some surprise, or even disappointment, that, in looking into ancient authors, we find it either not mentioned at all, or mentioned only in the most cursory manner. Thus it is that, in following the steps of Herodotus, as he enters upon the sacred territory, and at a time concerning which our information is so scanty—the age of Malachi, Nehemiah, and Ezra, we find him barely alluding to the city of Solomon, and entirely silent as to the singular institutions of the people! Reporting the victory gained over the Syrians by Pharaoh Necho, at Magdolum, (Megiddo,) he states, that the Egyptian king, after this success, took Cadytis (*El Kuds, the Holy*)—a large city of Syria.—EUTERPE, 159. And again—THALIA, 5—in speaking of the geography of the countries bordering upon Egypt, his allusion to Jerusalem is as brief as possible:—and yet it is of a kind plainly indicating that he had personally visited it.—"Cadytis, a city of the Syrian Palestine, not much inferior in size, as it seems to me, to Sardis."

Strabo, where he defines Syria, (XVI.) does not even name Jerusalem; and he incidentally mentions the Jews, as one of the four races that occupied the soil. A little further on, in the same book, as he descends the coast, after speaking particularly of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, he mentions Joppa, "whence, as they affirm, Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Jews, may be desied."

Polybius disappoints us in another manner, by stating—XVI. 39,—that having more to say concerning Jerusalem, and the splendour—ἐπιφάνεια, of

its temple than he could then report, he reserves the description of it for a season of leisure:—*εἰς ἕτερον καιρὸν ὑπερθήσομεν τὴν διήγησιν.*

Plutarch refers to the conquest of Judæa by Pompey, without so much as naming the capital of the country; and again, in the Life of M. Antonius, he mentions the country, but not its "crown;" and the fortunes of the people, but not their glory; and although very frequently alluding to Jewish usages, he does so without seeming to attach to the subject any such importance as we might suppose it to deserve.

Pliny the Elder, much more respectful, as he is, in his reference to Jerusalem, nevertheless confines himself to the fewest words which, on such a subject, could well be employed. Enumerating the ten toparchies into which Judæa was divided, he names, as the ninth, "Orinen, (*Ὀρεινήν*, the *hill country*,) in quâ fuere Hierosolyma, longe clarissima urbium orientis, non Judææ modo." V. 15. If this were not saying too much—Damascus, Antioch, Seleucia, considered, it seems to be too little. The only other reference to the Holy City, in this writer, is a mere mention of the name. (XXVII. 5.)

Pomponius Mela specifies the noted cities of Palestine—Gaza, Ascalon, Joppa, Tyre, Sidon, and others; but does not even name Jerusalem!

Now, trivial as may seem the mere circumstance of the mode in which our author introduces the name of the Holy City to his readers, it is in fact highly significant, as it stands related to the estimate we have formed both of his grasp of mind, and of his purpose, as a writer. Josephus was well aware of the place which the Jewish metropolis held in the esteem of the world at large; and he mentions it, on the first occasion, in terms accordant with the notions of those for whom he was writing. No Jew, thoroughly such in feeling, would thus coldly have designated his "Jerusalem—the joy of the whole earth!" The temper and habit of mind which led Josephus in this manner to adapt himself to the views of others—a temper the very reverse of that which was so characteristic of his countrymen—is apparent in this minute instance; and a recollection of it should be retained throughout the perusal of his works. Equally free, in most instances, from exaggeration, and from national prejudice, he is so without the too usual accompaniment of such freedom—a disposition to disparage or to calumniate what is national or peculiar. Respectfully, and in the calmest manner, he adverts to, and describes, the usages of his people; but he does so as a man who had conversed largely with the world.

. . . . about my fourteenth year

This passage is too significant, in relation to our immediate purpose, to be hastily dismissed. One or two circumstances of the Jewish domestic economy should, however, be premised. The male children, among this people, usually remained in the care of their mothers, or nurses, until they had completed their fifth year; when they came more directly under the

paternal control, and commenced their training in the arts of life, acquiring as well the elements of sacred learning in the school of a priest or levite. About their thirteenth year, when they were called "sons of the commandment," i.e. amenable to law, they entered upon a higher degree, and addressed themselves to the study of the "six hundred and thirty-one precepts," collected out of the Mosaic canon. As they advanced toward their fourteenth year, they were considered to be capable of choosing their own tutors, as well as of disposing of property. The father, on this occasion, convened his friends and relatives, declared to them the age and proficiency of his son, and offered a prayer, with thanksgiving, expressive of his desire for his welfare, and of the pleasure he felt in being so far acquitted of his responsibility as a parent. At fifteen, the Jewish youth were permitted to dispute on questions in the Gamara—a traditionary exposition of the Law:—they knew, however, very little of the prophets; and to this ignorance are to be attributed the errors prevalent among the people relative to the Messiah. Our author's averments, therefore, as to what may seem his early proficiency, are by no means incompatible with Jewish notions and practices. But what he further affirms is not so easily intelligible. The circumstance mentioned in this section will of course remind us of the incident in our Lord's early life, recorded by St. Luke—ii. 46. The fact that Jesus, at so tender an age, was found "sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them, and asking them questions," was altogether accordant with the usages of the people among whom it occurred. Nothing, in this case, appears extraordinary, but that preternatural intelligence in the child, which amazed the auditors. But what Josephus relates of himself can be made to appear probable only by the aid of some peculiar considerations. It was one thing for a youth, sitting at the feet of the rabbis, to astound them by the intelligence of his questions and of his answers;—it was quite another for these doctors, including even the highest personages of the state, to gather around a stripling, at his home, to learn wisdom from his lips! The fact itself here affirmed, as well as our author's affirmation of it, demand some attention, especially as tending to throw light upon his personal character, which it is our immediate object to elucidate.

The writings of Josephus incontestably prove, as we have already observed, his extraordinary capacity, and especially his power of acquiring and of employing to advantage a various amount of erudition. The books against Apion, considered as the work of a man whose early studies had embraced little or nothing beyond the nugatory logomachies of rabbinical exposition, indicate powers of mind of a high order. The author of them, it is evident, could acquire with ease what was the most foreign to his habits of thought; and could command, with equal ease, what he had thus acquired. This faculty of *appliance*, which was not at all characteristic of the Jewish race, displayed itself, we cannot doubt, in his early course; nor could it fail to attract notice. His *admitted* superiority among his countrymen, he more than once alludes to, and he affirms it, in the closing paragraph of the

"Antiquities," where he confidently asserts that he had accomplished his task of laying the history of his people before the Grecian world, in a manner which no one but himself, whether Jew or Gentile, could have equalled. As to his countrymen, whatever might be their proficiency in their own Law, they, as he says, held those in little esteem who became versed in foreign languages; whereas he, from his youth, had addicted himself to such acquirements, and had failed in nothing but in mastering the nice pronunciation of the Greek language.

Of the early intelligence of such a man we may well be prepared to hear what is extraordinary. And, on the other hand, the mental condition of these "priests and doctors," who are said, while he was yet a boy, to have sought instruction at his lips, should also be duly considered. What then were these "teachers of the Law," at the time which is now in our view? (that of the Christian council at Jerusalem.) By infallible lips these very men had been denounced as "blind leaders of the blind." A nugatory, sophistical, and frivolous mode of thinking was their characteristic. The mingled perverseness and infatuation which comes, as a cloud, upon whoever forsakes the Divine Testimony, and prefers to it the "vain traditions and commandments of men," had darkened their understandings:—there was "no light in them."—"Fools and blind," were they, even before the moment when their mad rejection of their King and Saviour had drawn upon them a judicial perplexity of soul. Every year, as it elapsed, after the ascension of Christ, rendered any *consistent* interpretation of prophecy more and more difficult to those who had so fatally overlooked its true import. Consequently, those shifts and evasive glosses to which desperate pride is driven, became every day more and more absurd, and less and less defensible. The mere adherence to these fallacies operated, by a reflected influence, to stultify still further the mind of the rabbi. At the same moment, the bold, simple-hearted, perspicuous, scriptural, and conclusive arguments of Christian teachers, such as Paul, Barnabas, and Apollos, were echoing around the walls of the temple. Often, at this very time, were these same priests and doctors confounded, in the hearing of the people, and compelled, if not to blush, yet to grind their teeth in vexation.

Such a state of things as this, the difficulties of which were constantly becoming more urgent, could not fail to excite the rabbis to a renewed diligence in searching for plausible evasions of the prophetic text. Ingenuity was racked to find the means of turning aside the sword of the Spirit, as wielded by the Christian teachers. It must not therefore be thought altogether improbable that the extraordinary intelligence, and the various acquirements of one like the young Josephus, whose range of thought was so much wider than their own, should have been caught at, as a source of new sophistries, or of unthought-of hypotheses.

Connecting, therefore, our author's affirmation, so coolly advanced, with the critical position of the Jewish doctors *at this very moment*, when the Christian doctrine was rapidly spreading among the people, and when even

“a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith,” we must regard it as by no means so inexplicable, or inadmissible, as at first sight it may appear.

. . . . *I took him as my exemplar*

Again a reference to the actual facts is demanded, in estimating the probability of our author's narrative, and thence his own credibility. His residence in the desert is not to be thought of as if it involved the austerities that were usual with the Christian anchorites of the fifth century. The *ancient* solitary discipline, as practised in the climate of Syria, was by no means formidable; and to a youth in good health, it could be little more than an agreeable “rustication.”

The oriental and Syrian contemplatists did not found their mode of life upon the principle of expiatory torture; nor did they inflict upon themselves frightful sufferings, as proofs, or as the means of sanctity. What they sought was merely an exemption from the cares and distractions of common life, purchased by an abstinence from some of its pleasures. They desired to be at liberty to think and to muse—the long day through, and on the cheapest terms. To secure this species of enjoyment, they repaired to some solitude, where what was indispensable to the support of animal life might be obtained with little or no labour. They clad themselves, so far as clothed at all—for their designation, *gymnosophists*, does not imply a superfluity of dress—with the broad leaves of the plantain, stitched together; and they subsisted upon wild dates, gourds, figs, locusts, and honey, as well as upon some esculent roots. And among the chinks of the many-caverned rocks of Syria and Petrea, they readily found shelter, and cool recesses.

Nor must this eremitic life be confounded with the far more artificial institution of the Essenes—a very ancient institution also—any more than with the fanatical monkery of a later age. It was the simplest, and the most picturesque idea of that style of human existence which removes itself to the furthest possible distance from the active, the sensuous, and the impassioned. Instead of the life of *desire*, of *labour*, and of *care*, it was the life of emaciated intellectualism!

This Bannus indulged, we are told, in frequent ablutions; but on the contrary, the Christian ascetics did not wash, and rejected with disdain the very notion of cleanliness. Fasting, or professing to fast, three, four, or five days, in every week, and engaged nightly in palpable combats with legions of fiends, and beset daily by crowds of admirers, these recluses—if such we may call them, had as little leisure as they had inclination, for philosophic meditation; especially as the repetition of one, two, or even three hundred prayers, was to be secured within the compass of the twenty-four hours! To no such discipline as this, we may be sure, did our Josephus subject himself; and we must give a softened rendering to the—*πκληραγωγῆσαι*, and the *πολλὰ ποιεῖν*, which he applies to his noviciates. It is not

improbable that, during his recess in the wilderness, he prosecuted some of those studies of which the fruits appear in his writings.

. . . . *my twenty-sixth year*

This would be A.D. 63, and therefore corresponds with the time of the expiration of St. Paul's two years' imprisonment at Rome. It was also the year preceeding that in which happened the conflagration of the city—an event so fatal in its consequences to the Christians! The custom of sending prisoners to Rome, to appear at Cæsar's tribunal, as in the case of Paul, was ordinary; and our author mentions several instances of the kind.

. . . . *using only figs and nuts*

It has been imagined that these Jewish priests were ascetics! Yet nothing is more simple than the circumstance here mentioned; and it is similar altogether to that of the Jewish captives, recorded by Daniel. It was no rule of *abstinence* that impelled those youths to entreat an exemption for themselves from the despotism of the Babylonish chief cook. The dread they felt of violating either the Mosaic prohibitions, or their acquired repugnances concerning food, was their only motive. The conscientious Jew avoided as food—*first*, the flesh of animals prohibited as unclean by the law;—*secondly*, the flesh even of clean animals that had not been slaughtered in the Jewish manner, or so as to be as free as possible from blood;—*thirdly*, any articles of food cooked in a mode which might violate the Mosaic precepts in their rigid acceptation; and *fourthly*, all meats which, according to polytheistic customs, might have been offered at the altar of an idol: or even in the remotest manner associated with any such contaminations. Thus, and in so many ways restricted, the Jew, when in a foreign land, and apart from his compatriots; and especially when he was a captive, often found himself compelled to submit to severe privations. His only resource was—when it remained to him, to betake himself to a vegetable diet; and in doing so, he selected those fruits which require no culinary preparation; such, for instance, as figs and nuts. Hindoos and Mahometans are now often seen to adopt a similar course, under similar circumstances.

The commendation intended to be assigned to these Jewish prisoners, is therefore not that of asceticism; but that of a scrupulous and self-denying regard to their national observances. And herein we find another instance, confirmatory of our position, that Josephus, far from renouncing, or from seeming indifferent to the religious peculiarities of his nation, refers to them always in the clearest and the boldest manner: manifestly he was not ashamed of Judaism.

. . . . after an extremely perilous voyage

This incident, not at all extraordinary in itself, can hardly fail to remind us of the circumstances of St. Paul's voyage to Rome. Even the expressions employed by the two writers offer some singular coincidences; but to suppose, as some have done, that St. Paul and Josephus were passengers on board the same vessel, is to venture much too far on the ground of mere conjecture. According to the several chronologies of the two memoirs—the “Acts,” and the “Life,” the voyage of Josephus occurred two years, at least, later than that of the Apostle. And the points of agreement in the two narratives are mingled with discordances which are not to be reconciled.

The priests, whom Felix had sent in chains to Rome, appear to have remained there bound, as St. Paul had done, for a considerable time. St. Paul and his companions were put on board a ship of Alexandria. Josephus, and those rescued from the waves with him, were taken up by a ship of Cyrene. Both vessels encountered a tempest in the Adriatic:—the crews of both were compelled to seek safety in swimming; and in both instances, the shores of Italy were touched at the same point—Puteoli; which, indeed, was the haven for the African and Egyptian traders. Both travellers, on their landing, made acquaintance with some of their compatriots. These circumstances are, however, all ordinary and natural—and are by no means such as to justify the conjecture to which we have alluded. As to the Jews who were met with at Puteoli, it appears from a passage of the WAR, II. vii. 1, compared with the ANTIQUITIES, XVII. xii. 1, that several of that nation had there established themselves;—as they had in most places to which commerce attracted strangers.

On my arrival

—that is to say, on his return from Rome. This journey to the metropolis of the world, and the opportunities it must have afforded him for learning, authentically, what were the disposable forces of the empire, would naturally impress a cautious and politic mind like that of Josephus, with a vivid conviction of the extreme folly of the revolt which his countrymen then meditated. Moreover, he had actually witnessed the horrors of imperial revenge, and he had stood and trembled in the presence of Nero! This visit to Rome may be probably assumed as having been the circumstance which determined his after course, as a public man. Thoroughly sincere were his endeavours to turn his countrymen from their insane purpose. But when he found this could not be done, rather than forfeit the influence he had acquired, he temporized, and entered upon a devious path, where his course could not be altogether consistent with any great principle of action.

. . . . *the leaders of the brigand band*

This, and similar opprobrious epithets, constantly applied by Josephus to the leaders of revolt in this war, demand consideration, inasmuch as the opinion we may form in this particular instance, of his historical integrity, must regulate our estimate of the value of his testimony in other analogous cases.

The term *λῃστής* does not well admit of any English rendering which might carry a meaning of chivalrous bravery and honour. It must needs be translated by the unseemly word—robber, or brigand! True it is that, in the early times of Grecian history, as Thucydides assures us—I. 5, the phrase *λῃστεία*, far from its being associated with ideas of disgrace, was gloried in by the predatory chiefs who, on land and water, lived by their swords, at the cost of their defenceless neighbours: but notions such as these can attach only to the rudest condition of society, and they had become obsolete long before the Greek language acquired its classic sense.

That the epithet was well merited by the men to whom, ordinarily, Josephus applies it, there can be no room to doubt. We may nevertheless regret that he did not take occasion, when employing it, to insist upon some distinctions which a warm patriotic sentiment would have impelled him to regard. Although it be certain that the foremost actors in this insurrectionary war were, in fact, such as he states them to have been—men trained to violence, subsisting upon rapine, and who had long released themselves from all restraints of law and justice; yet such were not thousands of those who freely took part in the revolt, and who shared, not only the miseries it entailed, but also the arduous struggles by which it was protracted. The “robbers and assassins”—the Sikars, whose ruthless crimes darken this history, could not possibly have gained the ascendancy which they actually acquired throughout the country, and in the city, had they not found the mass of the people already maddened by the infliction of intolerable wrongs, on the part of the Roman governors, and the military chiefs. Josephus himself narrates these insufferable provocations with a proper distinctness; and we should have been fully content with him, as the historian of his people's overthrow, had he, with a mingled feeling of generous indignation, and of keen sympathy toward his unhappy countrymen, arraigned more boldly the Roman government, as the real mover of the rebellion; and so excused his nation, on the plea that there is a limit, in human nature, to the power of endurance; and that oppression, so extreme, “maketh even a wise man mad.” The History of the Jewish War should have been written with a warmer Jewish feeling; but in truth, had our author's bosom heaved with emotions of this order, he himself would not have survived to compose it.

The preceding Roman procurators had severely tried the patience of the Jewish people, who, on many occasions, had shown all the forbearance that

could have been expected from them. The licentious legions to which Claudius had granted permission to stay in Palestine, contrary to the dictates of his better judgment, had, by their exactions and their enormities, kept alive irritation, even when the procurator himself might be regardful of justice and mercy. But too often, he was himself the author—openly or secretly—of the most flagitious acts. Such was Albinus, procurator—A.D. 62; and still worse, the cruel and rapacious Gessius Florus, who succeeded him.

Under the administration of this monster, not only had the people been wrought up to a pitch of frenzy by the outrages, of every kind, which he perpetrated; but that class of men—the *Thugs* of that age, who had already become very numerous, and whose profession was rapine and murder, now openly traversed the country, and might be spoken of, almost, as its real masters. These men—the “robbers and assassins”—*λησταὶ καὶ σικάριοι*, of our author’s vocabulary, fomenting every discontent, and rushing forward to promote and to head every tumult, acquired, by their habits and by their ferocity, a sort of military commission, which made them the leaders, on all occasions when arms were resorted to. In narrating the events of a revolt, thus promoted, it is not surprising that Josephus should mention more frequently these lawless chiefs, than he does the unhappy people who were their tools and victims. It is these brigands that occupy the foreground of the picture; nor is this circumstance, in itself, to be complained of, or wondered at. What we must regret, is our author’s want of that deep national sentiment, and of those generous resentments, which would have impelled him to give more prominence to the wrongs of his people than to their faults; and to have distinguished *always*, as he does *sometimes*, between the robbers, and the outraged and exasperated multitude.

That our author should describe the insurrection as, mainly, the work of the robbers and assassins, does not therefore disparage his veracity, or detract from the credibility of his history;—for such was unquestionably the case. At the same time the coldness of his manner, when reporting this fact, cannot but diminish our regard toward himself, as a man, and greatly blemish his reputation as a patriot.

PAGE 34.

... *they compelled those of that nation* ...

The transactions here briefly referred to are related in the WAR, II. xviii. more at large, and not discordantly in point of fact; although, at a glance, it may so appear. The—*πολλὰς μυριάδας*, in its ordinary use, is a vague expression, importing a large, or indefinite number; and it is often employed by Greek writers when many fewer than sixteen thousand are intended, which is the actual number of Jews stated by our author, in his History of the War, to have been butchered by the people of Seythopolis. But we must be content with a less satisfactory explanation of the passage immediately following, in which Josephus states that one party of Jews had been

compelled to bear arms against another,—“in opposition to our law ;”—*ὅτι ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἀθέμιτον*—a thing to us prohibited, or regarded as impiously wicked. Doubtless the Mosaic institute was opposed, in its spirit and tendency, to all intestine war ; nor had the prophets failed to protest against the fratricidal practice, as, 1 Kings xii. 24. But in point of fact, so often had Israel and Judah met in the clash of arms, and so often had tribe fought with tribe, that civil war could not well be spoken of as a thing unheard of among the Jews. This profession bears some resemblance to that flagrant falsehood, uttered by this often-subjugated, and then—enthralled people, when they declared that they “were never in bondage to any man !” In various instances of this kind, Josephus will be found to affirm, in the Jewish manner, more than he could well make good by an appeal to facts.

. . . the Jews were rather impelled by necessity, than led by inclination.

This passage, to which our author invites the particular regard of his readers, we are bound to consider attentively. Now, whether or not the *fact* be as he states it, that the Jews were hurried into the insurrectionary war by a kind of necessity, and against their deliberate intentions, *his assertion* that it was so, and the pains he takes to make it so appear, bring him before us as the apologist of his people ; and it thus conclusively repels the calumny which would arraign him as their enemy. He wishes the world to believe, that a concurrence of untoward events had driven the Jewish nation forward, contrary to their will, toward a desperate position, whence there was no way of escape for them, but in rebellion. And it is particularly to be noticed that, in assigning the causes of the troubles which ended in the ruin of his country, he boldly and distinctly specifies, as we shall see, the cruelties, and the intolerable oppressions of the Roman procurators. It was the mal-administration of the men to whom the emperors had confided the care of Judæa, that, as Josephus affirms, had at once wrought the people to frenzy, and had called into existence those numerous bands of robbers who were the leaders of tumult, and the real movers of the war.

By the mere facts of the case therefore, whatever may be thought of the validity of the apology he offers, Josephus stands acquitted of the charge of flattering the Roman government, on the one hand, and of aggravating the guilt of his nation on the other. He accuses them, indeed—or rather a portion of them—of rashness, inconsideration, miscalculation of their strength and resources ; and, at last, of an extreme infatuation ; but he takes especial care to preclude, at the outset, the supposition that the Jewish people, as a body, or that their constituted national rulers, had deliberately devised a revolt.

Here again then, we say, that deficient as Josephus may have been in lofty sentiments, or in national enthusiasm, it is an extreme injustice to speak of him as either the obsequious adulator of his masters, or as the calumniator of his unhappy countrymen. If indeed he had found himself

compelled "to lie in every page, for his own defence," he would doubtless have gone the whole length of falsification, and have affirmed, what could not, at the time when he wrote, have been disproved, that the Jewish War had been planned in the palace of the high priest. This allegation would best have served the double purpose imputed to him, first, of revenging himself upon his nation, and then of enhancing the importance of the conquest which the Roman arms had achieved. Instead of doing so, he throws all the blame upon an obscure, and a then-extinct class of the community; and he represents the miseries which his people had suffered as the consequence of untoward events, and of the wanton provocations by which their patience had been exhausted.

PAGE 35.

Justus the son of Pistus . . .

This Justus, the son of Pistus, was the rival of Josephus not merely as a political chief, but also as a writer, and as the historian of the Jewish War. We should listen, therefore, with caution to what our author may advance, as to the conduct and merits of this individual. He comes before us once and again in the course of the Memoir, and we here direct the reader's attention to the circumstance of this double rivalry. It will be observed that Josephus allows his rival to have been skilled in Grecian literature—rare accomplishment as it was, and one in which he especially prided himself.

PAGE 39.

. . . to destroy the palace which Herod the tetrarch had erected . . .

This sumptuous structure, as well as the amphitheatres and other buildings in Judæa, or Galilee, which were devoted to purposes of profane amusement, or decorated with idolatrous symbols, had, although erected by their own princes, been the objects of extreme uneasiness to the Jewish people; and in fact they had been the immediate occasions of frequent and sanguinary tumults. The Jews—chiefs as well as people, had, at this period of their history, become in the keenest manner sensitive to any infringement of the Mosaic law, touching idolatrous practices, or image-like decorations. And it was this feeling—commendable, surely, in itself—which, more than any other, had rendered the Roman yoke, and the military occupation of their country and city intolerable to them. To the same sentiment must be attributed, mainly, that impatience which issued in the open rebellion of the nation, and which ended in its dispersion.

But what we have now to do with, is the conduct of Josephus on this occasion, acting, as he declares himself to have done, in compliance with the instructions he had received from Jerusalem. Galilee, at the time now in question, may be said to have been in the military occupation of the Jews:

and Josephus was the chief of the irregular and tumultuary force which held it. His colleagues, who had now saturated themselves with gold, thought only of quietly returning to their homes; and they were retained that they might give their mute sanction to his proceedings, which in the end they ruinously thwarted. It had become, therefore, his duty, *as a matter of course*, to give effect to the principle which, as we find, was now uniformly acted upon by the Jewish people, and to which, with admirable constancy, they had adhered on several memorable occasions—namely, to resist always to the utmost the introduction of idolatrous symbols and decorations, and to remove them whenever it was in their power so to do.

The country round the Lake of Tiberias, on its western side, was now commanded by the Jewish chief; and therefore the tolerance of the “offence” which Herod’s palace had occasioned, would have exposed himself and his constituents to popular odium. Much greater perils had been boldly encountered by the Jews at Jerusalem, in resisting similar violations of their laws, than any that could be incurred in demolishing the palace of Herod at Tiberias. It appears, however, that Josephus did not feel himself strong enough to effect this object without leave obtained of the citizens; who might naturally grudge to see so noble a structure—the ornament of their city, levelled with the ground. The public discussion of the point—the destruction of the palace being resisted, as might have been expected, by those who wished to maintain their allegiance to the Romans—gave time to the leader of a predatory band to rush upon the spoil—to seize that more precious portion of it—the gold, the silver, and the brass, which a conflagration would bring within their reach.

These spoils, which, had they been carefully removed, would probably have amounted to a vast sum, Josephus, we may well believe, had not forgotten, as a means either of making peace with the Romans, or of conciliating Agrippa, or of carrying on the insurrectionary war, should it seem practicable to do so. The endeavours he afterwards made to recover a portion of the plunder, and to reserve it, under the care of the magistrates of Tiberias, were consistent with these intentions. In these instances Josephus appears to have pursued a course which, while it accorded with his position as a Jewish chief, never deviated, so far as he could control it, from that which should leave open to him a possible return to his duty toward Agrippa, and toward Cæsar. It was thus that, in endeavouring to prevent the seizure of the public granaries by his rival, John, he professed his intention to reserve these stores, as circumstances might dictate, “either for the Romans, or for his own use;”—that is to say, his use as governor and general.

PAGE 40.

. . . . *no oil pure enough for their use*

This circumstance demands explanation, as connected with the conduct of Josephus, in which we cannot but observe a uniformity of motive, although

he was continually thwarted by the impracticable temper of those with whom he had to do. Oil—an article indispensable in the East, was not less so among the Jews than among their neighbours. It formed an article of diet;—it was peculiarly necessary—or thought to be so, for lubricating and cleansing the skin; and mingled with wine, it was the principal means of effecting the cure of wounds. It constituted, also, a part of the offerings of the Jewish worship; and was moreover the symbolic element, employed in conveying sacerdotal and civil dignities. In relation to this, therefore, as to other articles of consumption, the Jews scrupulously confined themselves to the use of such as had been prepared by themselves, and which had not passed, commercially, through heathen hands. This caution was the more necessary in regard to oil, which, entering as it did into so many idolatrous offices, might be presumed, when purchased in the open market of a heathen town, to have been already dedicated, in some manner, to the “gods of the heathen.” The scruple herein alleged was therefore one of which every Jew admitted the propriety; and the subject, as the artful demagogue, John, well knew, would not fail to kindle popular resentment, if Josephus had resisted the proposal of his rival. He yielded—lest he should have been stoned by the people:—such was the precarious position of a military chief of this passionate race! Pure Jewish oil, it appears, was ten times as dear at Casarea as at Gischala. John might, therefore, abate much of this exorbitant price, and, nevertheless, realize an enormous profit.

The tumultuary infliction of death by stoning, had become, even in the case of persons neither tried nor convicted, a sort of Jewish usage—of which several instances occur in the evangelic records.

. . . put the towns in a posture of defence.

The nature of the country throughout a great part of Galilee, and especially at this period, and before its asperities had been reduced by abrasion of the elements, and by war and artificial means, favoured the fortification of the towns, many of which occupied the summits of precipitous hills. The many volcanic cones of this district, and the sharp termination of the ranges of hills, rendered the construction of temporary fortifications not very costly, where loose materials abounded, and where a dense population might be set to work, at low wages.

Josephus too well understood the modes of assault practised by the Romans, to suppose that any but the most singularly situated hill-forts, such as Jotapata or Masada, could stay the course of the legions, or resist the impulse of those engines that had levelled the firmest structures in the world. Nevertheless these defences—these fortified towns, were important as points of support for a force like that which he commanded;—they overawed marauding chiefs;—they discouraged the destructive custom of intestine warfare—town upon town; and they might even enable whoever should occupy them, to make terms, somewhat more favourably, with the Roman

general. We find Josephus availing himself of every opportunity to construct, or to restore, such defences ; and he made his last stand, as a Jewish chief, in the strongest of them—Jotapata. The same line of policy led him, as he here states, to engage the predatory chiefs as mercenaries, and to purchase exemption from their outrages by pay and commissions. We should notice also the circumstance, that these—the Bedouen of that age, were restricted from assailing the Roman outposts as well as from ravaging the country within which they roamed. What they needed beyond their stipend, must be sought for in distant expeditions. This, in fact, is the bandit's standing rule—to rob always as far as possible from his home.

To complete his plan for maintaining the peace of the country, Josephus retained near him, in all his movements, the chief men of the towns ;—in fact they were hostages, although colleagues in appearance. In a word, a modern commander, under similar circumstances, would not pursue a course differing much from that adopted by Josephus in this instance ; and on this ground he is clearly entitled to high praise. As to the *encomiums* which he proceeds to bestow upon himself, they are only in keeping with the style of the times ; and in the religious turn which he gives to the subject of his own blameless deportment, he writes altogether in the Jewish fashion ; following what he might deem authoritative examples ; and unless we choose to deny him every merit, we may well think him sincere in the appeal which he thus makes to the Righteous Judge of human actions.

PAGE 41.

. . . . the hot baths of Tiberias

We take the occasion to direct the reader's attention to a fact—so important in relation to the general credibility of Josephus, that his incidental allusions to the topography of Palestine, and to the natural features of the country, are singularly exact and precise, and are such as may well supersede the necessity of proving his writings to be the genuine productions of a man who had trodden the country, in its length and breadth, again and again, and whose recollection of the minute circumstances of events was perfect, even after the lapse of many years. Josephus may indeed often be detected in errors, when reporting the events of a *hurried hour*, and when he might have observed what was passing confusedly ; but he is not often at fault when he reports *permanent facts* ; or those facts, of which the native of a country so limited in extent as Palestine, is likely to retain, even in exile, a vivid remembrance. It is thus that, at Rome, and five-and-twenty years after the termination of the War, he mentions, with the ease and *certainly* of familiar knowledge, the relative position and distances of towns and villages, and describes *graphically*, what he describes at all. “*Josèphe a deviné le secret de Richardson, l'intérêt par le détail ; il rend les scènes présentes et voisines.*” But it may be observed, that, although a writer, gifted with the talent for

doing so, and who has witnessed *any one battle*, may describe *any other battle* with vivid truth, the same graphic exactness in the description of *places*, and of natural scenes, as well as of local costumes, is to be attained in no other way than by a long-continued acquaintance with those very places. Our conclusion, then, is this—That the writings of Josephus, inasmuch as they offer, on every page, the indications of a personal and familiar knowledge of the local circumstances of the narrative, and exhibit, moreover, proofs of the faculty of exact observation, as well as a *retentive* and *precise* memory, establish, by these internal characteristics, their own genuineness, and the author's intimate knowledge of his subject.

“ Si ce genre de talent ”—that of exact and vivid description—“ était le génie, on devrait placer Josèphe au-dessus d'Hérodote, au-dessus de Tacite, au-dessus de Thucydide. Souvent il marque ses narrations d'un point lumineux, plus vif au regard, il fait jaillir ses personnages et ses couleurs avec un vigueur plus éblouissante ; on voit circuler dans ses tableaux une atmosphère plus rare et plus diaphane que chez ees grands maîtres.”

PAGE 42.

. . . . *I marched throughout the entire night*

If the site assumed for the ancient Cana of Galilee be correct—Kana-el-Jelil, the distance thence to Tiberias was barely ten miles ; which, at the rate of march for infantry in Palestine—rugged as is the surface, might occupy, under the disadvantage of darkness, four, or perhaps five hours :—*i.e.* from the midnight watch, to the morning watch.

The narrative of this transaction, compared with that given in the Second Book of the WAR, has been adduced as an instance of our author's historical delinquencies ; but such a comparison will barely support any serious charge against him. These discrepancies are of the kind ordinarily attaching to *original* historical documents. When writers of a later age set themselves to *compile* history from various materials, they take care to secure an *apparent* consistency, by keeping out of sight whatever has perplexed themselves, and which would perplex the reader. On the contrary, one who narrates from memory, or from his own notes, transactions in which he was a party, is hurried forward by the vividness of his recollections, and leaves on his pages frequent instances of unintentional error.

PAGE 43.

. . . . *shuddering at the thought of commencing a civil war*

If this be Josephus's own declaration, and in his own favour, and therefore of little value, it is nevertheless in perfect accordance with that course of conduct which the entire narrative shows him to have pursued. With the overwhelming forces of the empire looming around them, the infatuated

Jews fell one upon another, on every trivial provocation—town attacking town, with mad ferocity. Josephus well understood that these intestine disorders could have no other effect than that of saving the Romans the cost of a conquest. The account which he gives of his conduct while commanding in Galilee, accords, at once, with this professed anxiety to prevent civil war, and with that political intelligence of which his writings give incontestable evidence.

PAGE 44.

About this time . . .

In the order of events, as well as in some minute particulars, there is a discrepancy between the narrative, as here given, and that in the Second Book of the WAR. It may be enough to say, that several events nearly resembling each other, and occurring about the same time, appear to have become entangled in our author's memory, so that, in recording them after an interval of twenty-five or thirty years, some single facts belonging to the one have been assigned to the other event, and are interchangeably presented in the WAR, and the LIFE.

PAGE 46.

. . . . the wife of Ptolemy . . .

—Ptolemy, the administrator of Agrippa's kingdom. This transaction deserves a moment's notice, as illustrating the conduct and character of Josephus. The "Great Plain" here means—the plain of Esdraelon, or Megiddo, which is an undulating tract of fertile country, bounded by the rugged eminences of Galilee on the north and east, and by the hills of Samaria on the south and west. The noble lady here mentioned was passing, probably, from the country beyond the Jordan—that is to say, Gaulonitis—toward Cæsarea, on the coast, which was then occupied by a Roman force. The bandits of Dabaritta, or Dabcrath, a village situated beneath the western brow of Mount Tabor, dashing from their heights upon the faint-hearted escort, had captured all but the *persons*, who were suffered to pursue their journey. That these freebooters should have dared to enter a town, in broad day, driving their spoil before them, and a town too which was then the head-quarters of the Jewish general and governor of the province, indicates plainly enough what the state of the country was at the time, and what were the modes of proceeding then usual with persons in authority. Several of the Roman procurators, and Florus especially, had more than connived at outrages of this sort—exacting a half of the booty for themselves, as the price of impunity!

It seems to have been supposed by these robbers, that Josephus would grant them a similar licence, on similar, or perhaps better terms. This may be inferred from the expression employed by him:—these young men, he

says, took it ill that they had not received—*μοῖρα*, *their part*, or, as it might be rendered, “their customary allotment,” of the plunder, which was what they had expected, and upon which they had confidently reckoned, in bringing the whole into the town. Now this circumstance, so undesignedly mentioned, affords sufficient proof of the fact—a fact very necessary to be remembered in the perusal of the WAR—that a system of licensed anarchy, and of undisguised plunder, had, for some time, prevailed throughout the country. But we well know that, wherever such a system does prevail, it calls into existence a lawless militia, the chiefs of which become at length the masters of the unarmed population. Now Josephus has been assailed on this very ground—that he denominates as *brigands* and assassins “the brave men” whom, had he not been himself a renegade, he would have landed as heroes and patriots! But it is certain that, whatever might be the patriotism of the mass of the Jewish people, the country at this time swarmed with armed bands, practised in every enormity, who had ceased to think of outrage and massacre as crimes, and who had even been taught by the Roman authorities to levy supplies by these very means. The grievous wrongs that had been inflicted upon the nation, and the many instances in which men, driven from their homes, were reduced to desperation, would every day swell these predatory bands. In a country so densely populated as Palestine then was, they may have amounted to many thousands. These, when the country came again to be occupied by the forces of Vespasian, were compelled to retire within the walls of Jerusalem, or of other munitions. In this fact, then, we have a key to the history of the siege, and of its unparalleled horrors. But at Tarichæa the Jewish commander was strong enough to deal with these freebooters as he thought proper. He therefore attached their plunder, and dismissed themselves, despoiled of all, or of all but the silver and gold which they had previously secreted. This booty he reserved for its rightful owner; and, if the supposition be not invidious, we may surmise that a motive of policy, as well as a dictate of integrity, influenced him in so doing. His real intention, from whatever impulse it originated, he did not avow, alleging, in its stead, a reason of a more popular kind. His professed wish, to restore the booty to *Ptolemy*, he supports by an assertion which was barely true—that the Jews were forbidden to plunder an enemy! The usages of war among the Jews did not differ materially from those of the surrounding nations; and certainly their law did not forbid the appropriation or destruction of the goods of a public enemy. It is nevertheless true that many precepts of the Mosaic code enjoined a regard to the rights and welfare of a personal, or private foe.

PAGE 48.

. . . . *I determined to have recourse to a piece of hardihood.*

The discrepancies which appear in comparing the narrative of these events with that given in the WAR (II. xxi. 5), may be accounted for without much difficulty, on the supposition of a confused recollection of circumstances

which involved immediate peril of life. Josephus wrote—if not always with scrupulous accuracy, yet, as is evident, in the unsolicitous style of a man who confides in the truth of his main affirmations.

In relation to these differences, it is important to remark that, as the *LIFE* was composed subsequently to the *WAR*, it may be considered as containing the author's reconsidered and amended statement of events. Accordant with this circumstance is the fact, that, for the most part, the particulars affirmed in the *LIFE* have less of the air of exaggeration than those presented in the *WAR*.

Josephus, in this instance, acts in a manner which is oriental, as well as characteristic of his personal dispositions, and of his tendency to resort to stratagem: he descends from the heroic to the dramatic; nor hesitates to save himself by the compromise of his dignity as a chief. He does this to an extent which proves his command of the country to have been of the most precarious kind:—the favour of an hour was all he could rely upon; and even his body-guard had been seduced to leave their general to his fate! Energy, however, as well as craft and address, belonged to Josephus; nor did he scruple to adopt measures of extreme ferocity, when necessary for his personal safety. In the *WAR* he affirms that he flogged *several* of the insurgents, with cruel severity; in the *LIFE* he says it was *one*, selected from the number, whom he treated in this manner, and who also suffered the loss of a hand. Such barbarities have always been common in the East; nor does Josephus appear to think any apology called for on the occasion. "Such was the stratagem," he coolly says, "by which I was preserved from this second conspiracy!"

PAGE 49.

. . . . the frontiers of *Hippos*

—A lofty range of country on the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesareth. These refugee chiefs, driven from the Jewish territory by the fanaticism or jealousy of the people, were thus thrown upon the mercy of king Agrippa. Of the forbearance of this prince other instances are on record, and he appears to advantage on various occasions in the history of the Jewish War. It may be well to bear in mind the circumstance, that this Agrippa, with Bernice his sister, retired to Rome, after the destruction of Jerusalem, where he spent the residue of his days; and, as we may conclude, maintained a friendly intercourse with Josephus. This circumstance deserves notice for two reasons—first, that this intimacy, continued during some years, would afford to our author the best opportunities for making himself acquainted with facts and events of which otherwise he could scarcely have obtained any information; and secondly, it should be remembered as suggesting a caution on all occasions where the king's reputation, or that of Bernice, is implicated.

The inhabitants of Tiberias . . .

The two towns, Tiberias and Tarichæa, with the country adjoining, had been added, by the favour of Nero, to the dominions of king Agrippa; and yet, inasmuch as they belonged to Galilee, of which the Jews were in military occupation, their allegiance depended always upon the actual presence of a force sufficient for their protection. Throughout this narrative, we find the people of these towns holding an ambiguous course, and alternating in their political relations—now, courting their sovereign, Agrippa, and professing their desire to submit to the Romans; and again yielding themselves to the control of Josephus: in a word, siding with the strongest, for the time being. In this instance, at the moment when a Roman force was reported to be advancing, Josephus, although actually engaged in constructing fortifications at the request of the citizens, became the object of their virulent invectives! That mode of dealing with these fickle Tiberians which had suggested itself to Josephus, but which, from a prudential motive, he hesitated to adopt, was—to let loose the armed rabble and strangers of the one town upon the other, with licence to plunder. Such was the state of this wretched country—indicated as it is by the whole tenor of the narrative.

PAGE 51.

. . . I could not without impiety put one of my own countrymen to death . . .

What can this mean?—As much, perhaps, as the profession just before so coolly made—that “it was not lawful for the Jews to plunder an enemy.” Josephus declares that he regarded it as an act—*ὄνχ ὕσιον*, “unholy,” or such as should be condemned on some ground of religious principle. But no precept of the Mosaic law interdicted the infliction of capital punishment upon a leader of sedition, and one who had put in jeopardy the lives of many of the people. In this, and similar instances, elsewhere occurring, is to be traced the pernicious influence of those maxims of the Pharisaic policy which inclined public men, of this party, toward a weak and dangerous lenity. The Sadducees, on the contrary, rejecting, as they did altogether, the notion of *future* punishments, thought themselves compelled, in mere consistency, to visit every offence—and especially when a Jew was the culprit, with the most severe *present* chastisement. They well felt that, if men’s minds were to be relieved from all restraints of religious fear—from the dread of God’s judgment in a life to come, it would be impossible to preserve public order, or to prevent the outburst of every lawless passion, unless by the means of an inexorable severity in visiting every transgression on the spot, with a Draco’s heavy hand;—smiting to the life, and suiting at the moment! Such a system, it is evident, if it be not utterly impracticable in any case, could be carried out only by a government the most despotic, and which, by

a natural reaction, in rendering a people ferocious, multiplies crimes, until judges are appalled, and the executioner sickens in his office ; and it becomes necessary to convert armies into engines of civil slaughter. So it was in France, during those terrible years in which "No God," and "no futurity," was the creed of the state. Thus it is that impiety becomes, in a political sense, synonymous with sanguinary anarchy. On the other hand, it is manifest that a government may afford to be mild, just in proportion to the influence of religious motives among the people. But the Pharisees, whose great fault was blindness to the *relative importance* of moral obligations, were, while absurdly rigid in trifles, dangerously lax on those urgent occasions when the well-being of the social system is at stake:—they would at once exact a tithe of kitchen herbs—and let forth upon society, unpunished—a Barabbas! We find, more than once or twice in this narrative of Josephus's public conduct, that, while scrupling to inflict well-merited capital punishment upon the armed disturbers of the public peace, he was frequently compelled to resort to means the most ferocious for maintaining his authority ; such as flagellations, which the Law of Moses *did* forbid, and mutilations horribly savage! These, however, were the modes and usages of the times and people, and they are not fairly to be imputed to Josephus, as an individual.

It is observed by Lightfoot (on John xviii. 31), that the absurd reluctance of the Jewish authorities—when under Pharisaic control, to inflict capital punishment upon any of "the people of God," had produced its natural effect, in filling the country with rapine and murder. To such an extent did robbery and murder prevail, that the Sanhedrim no longer could—nor did it dare, take any sort of cognisance of these disorders:—silent leges inter scelera:—as to cases of uncertain homicide, there was no inquiry ; and upon known murders no judgment. The Talmudist says, "Cum viderent quod adeo multiplicati erant homicidæ, ut non possent eos judicare, dixerunt—Discedamus" This frightful condition of the Jewish people is indicated everywhere in the narrative of Josephus ; and the recollection of it serves as a comment upon the narrative of the war. To designate these troops of licensed murderers—as some recent writers have done—the "Jewish patriots," who would have lived peaceably if Josephus had not betrayed them, is surely to go to the utmost extent of chivalrous absurdity !

PAGE 53.

. . . . *Simon was at this time at variance with me*

Our author's enemies have affirmed, that whoever opposed him, or was his rival, is blackened by him as a monster of wickedness. Thus Basnage : "While Josephus invariably represents himself as the most upright, incorruptible, and patriotic of men, no colours are too dark for the character of his antagonist." But we have here an instance to the contrary ; and it is a

signal one. This Simon, son of Gamaliel—a man of rank and consequence, Josephus acknowledges to have been his personal enemy, and the principal party in the endeavours then making to remove him from his government; nevertheless he is not merely—not vilified, but is mentioned in terms of high encomium—at least as to his intellectual qualities.

. . . . were I removed from Galilee

History abounds with parallel instances—especially during seasons of confusion—of this fear of the governor of a remote province, on the part of his superiors. The case is similar to many that might be cited, and the fact here acknowledged by Josephus, that a considerable party at Jerusalem desired to remove him from his government, while yet it might be practicable to do so, will not in itself warrant an inference to his disadvantage. At the same time we are far from accepting his own account of the transaction, as if it had been the report of an indifferent witness. There might be reason to apprehend that so able and politic a man, and one who was known to disapprove of the attempt to resist the power of Rome, might, when he had firmly established his authority, in so rich and populous a province as Galilee, and when he had organized an army, lead it up to the metropolis—break the disorderly forces of the factions, and then win for himself a Herod's crown, as the reward of his services.

The supposition of such a design was by no means extravagant; and although there are no grounds for actually imputing it to Josephus, we cannot profess to think it improbable that an intention of this kind was harboured by him. The desire he manifested to compose the petty disorders of the Galilean towns—to prevent the waste of blood and treasure, thence so often arising, and to recommend himself to king Agrippa and to Bernice; as well as his exertions to fortify the towns, would not contradict such a surmise. But if a design like this had been executed—Jerusalem would have been saved from overthrow; and the people, however rigorously dealt with, would probably have continued to occupy their soil. Another course of events was, however, to have place, and therefore Josephus, although not removed from his government by his rivals, was not suffered so to consolidate his power there, as might enable him to march—Cæsar-like, upon the Metropolis. On the contrary, he could do nothing more than maintain a precarious authority until the moment when his disorderly band was crushed by the legions led by Vespasian and Titus.

PAGE 55.

Anxious for my own safety

The phrase employed by Josephus—*περὶ τῆς ἐμῶν φροντίζοντος σωτηρίας*. might admit even of a more emphatic rendering, as if he had said—“thinking of nothing but how to effect my escape from the impending danger.”

In truth, it would be doing our author a great injustice to accuse him of having been at any time indifferent to his personal safety. From the whole narrative we gather the opinion, that the first impulse of nature—self-preservation, was with him a foremost rule of conduct. The tidings conveyed to him by his father had shown him the extent of the danger to which he was now exposed, and he resolved to make his retreat good, while it should be possible to do so. And yet the spontaneous frankness with which he acknowledges this determination fairly entitles him to credit in stating the circumstances which afterwards induced him to abide the peril, and to maintain his position. It is to be remarked moreover, that, while on the one hand, he confesses his personal alarms, he attributes the zeal of the populace in urging his stay to no flattering motives of affection toward himself; but purely to their regard for their own security.

. . . . *a remarkable dream*

—Concerning either the reality, or the source of this dream, we shall make no inquiry. It is not to be doubted, however, that a visitation and an assurance so seasonable at this critical moment, when our author's fate depended upon the opinion of the populace in his favour, was communicated in the morning to those who would take care to repeat the auspicious tale to others. Could the upright intentions of this heaven-protected chief be questioned! and how ought the endeavours then on foot for removing him from the province to be resented! Moreover, inasmuch as he had been suspected of harbouring the design to betray his country to the Romans—a suspicion which, had it gained ground among the people, must have proved fatal to him on the spot, this “remarkable dream,” or vision, furnished a direct, and, as it seemed, a supernatural contradiction of the slanderous insinuation. Josephus betray his country to the Romans!—It is Heaven that sends him forth to fight for it! Nothing could have been more *opportune* than this vision of the night! we may therefore excuse ourselves from the task of sifting the evidence on which its reality rests.

PAGE 70.

. . . . *I would address a few words to Justus*

This Justus of Tiberias, the literary rival, as well as the political antagonist, and the bitter personal enemy of Josephus, is mentioned in the ninth section of the *LIFE*, with an acknowledgment of his ability and accomplishments, and a round assertion, moreover, of the turpitude of his dispositions, the baseness of his conduct, and the falseness of that narrative of the Jewish war which he had composed and published. To these heavy imputations—the circumstances being considered, we shall not attach implicit faith. The

History of the Jews, by this Justus, and his Annals, or Chronicle, although they have not come down to modern times, were extant in the tenth century, if not later. These writings must, soon after their appearance, have attracted attention, inasmuch as the author is familiarly mentioned by writers of the next age. Diogenes Laërtius, about a century later, in his Life of Soerates, reports an incident on the authority of this Jewish writer—"as says Justus of Tiberias, in his Stemma." *φησὶν Ἰουστὸς ὁ Τιβεριεύς ἐν τῷ Στέμματι.* The circumstance of this early reputation, and that he had been recognised as holding a place in the circle of Grecian literature, may also be inferred from the allusion made to him by Stephen of Byzantium, a writer of the fifth century, who, under the word TIBERIAS, in his account of cities, says,—“A city of Judæa, situated upon the lake of Gennesareth, and built by Herod. Of this city Justus was a citizen, who wrote a history of the Jewish war, in the time of Vespasian.” Whether the works of Justus had been seen by Eusebius, who mentions him as a writer, is not certain. This learned historian, in citing the closing paragraph of the ANTIQUITIES, and as it seems, the passage now before us in the LIFE, does but report the judgment of Josephus upon his rival without giving himself the pains to ascertain its correctness, which perhaps he had not the means of doing in any authentic manner. ECCLES. HIST. III. 10.

Jerome, in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers, assigns a place to Justus of Tiberias, of whom he says, “that he was of the province of Galilee, and also took in hand (as Josephus had done) to write a history of Jewish affairs, as well as to compile certain short commentaries—quosdam commentariolos—*τινα ὑπομνήματα.* But this writer Josephus accuses of falsification. It is, however, certain that he wrote at the same time as Josephus.” Jerome had *probably* seen these writings, although this is not to be certainly inferred from his language. They were, however, extant in the ninth century, as appears from the account given of them by the learned and judicious Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The passage is as follows :—

“I have read the Chronicle of Justus of Tiberias, the title of which is—*Ἰουστοῦ Τιβεριέως, Ἰουδαίων βασιλέων, τῶν ἐν τοῖς στέμμασιν.* He was of the city of Tiberias in Galilee. Commencing his history with Moses, he brings it down to the death of Agrippa, the seventh of the Herodian dynasty, and the last of the Jewish kings, and who, receiving his kingdom under Claudius, increased it under Nero, and still further under Vespasian. He died in the third year of Trajan, and at this point the history terminates. The method of this writer is extremely concise, so that he passes over many most important events. Himself a Jew, and labouring under the prejudices common to his nation, he makes no mention whatever of the advent of Christ, or of his history and miracles. He was the son of a Jew, named Pistus ; and—if we are to believe Josephus, he was a man of unexampled wickedness—the slave of avarice and sensuality. He took a part opposed to Josephus, against whom he contrived many plots. But Josephus, although many times he had his enemy in his power, always let him go

unharméd—with reproaches only. The history which he composed is said to be a fabrication ; especially those parts which relate to the war between the Jews and the Romans, and to the capture of Jerusalem." ART. XXXIII.

We are not to interpret Photius in this instance, as undertaking to decide upon the respective merits of the two rival Jewish historians. He simply reports the judgment that had been passed upon the one of them by the other ; and in doing so, he intimates his own hesitation, in the significant phrase—ὡς φησιν Ἰώσηπος—"so says Josephus !" It appears, however, from this passage, that Justus survived to a late period, and might be actually residing at Rome at the time when Josephus composed this Life of himself :—the personal address, therefore, which he uses, and which sounds uncouthly, if we suppose the object of it to have been dead at the time, may have had a direct meaning—"I would address a few words to Justus"—and again—"How then, Justus—that I may address him as *present*."

But the circumstance that his rival and personal enemy was then living—and perhaps frequenting the literary circles at Rome, or making a figure in those of Alexandria, may very properly be regarded as having constituted a check upon our author, in compiling his own history of the war ; for he could not doubt that any flagrant departure from truth would be eagerly caught at by his adversary, and exhibited to his disadvantage. False as might be the memoirs of Justus, Josephus must know that truth would be his own best defence against the insinuations of such an opponent.

In the eriminative address to his enemy, now before us, Josephus confidently appeals to the published "Commentaries" of the Emperor Vespasian, as well as to other unimpeachable documents, which he would scarcely have ventured to do, unless well assured of the correctness of his allegations. Nor can we doubt that his narrative of the Jewish war, was, as he declares it to have been, accredited and sanctioned by the principal persons who had been therein immediately concerned. And if we may rely upon the genuineness of the two notes from Agrippa, they must be regarded as carrying great weight, in relation to all that portion of the history of which this prince had a personal—or a not very remote knowledge.

These two notes, as here cited by our author, claim some attention. Agrippa is supposed to have died at Rome, A.D. 90 ; but Josephus speaks of him as deceased at the time when he wrote : he also alleges the fact, which Justus had professed, namely, that the history so tardily published by him, had been composed twenty years ; and allowing some time to have elapsed between the destruction of Jerusalem, and the moment when Justus commenced his task, and again an interval between the death of Agrippa, and the publication of this history, and yet another between the publication of the history of Justus, and that of the Life of Josephus, this last event must be placed near the end of Domitian's reign, and twenty-four, or twenty-five years subsequent to the overthrow of the Jewish polity. The History of the War had, however, been in the hands of the author's friends some years previously to this date, and at a time when many therein concerned were

still living. Whether they were persons *able*, or if able, willing, effectively to contradict any misstatements of facts, is more than we can certainly affirm. Agrippa, if these notes be genuine (and there is no positive ground for questioning them) did not think his friend's work open to any material exceptions. The first of them indicates the fact—and it is important—that *several* narratives of the Jewish war had already appeared, and which, in the judgment of Agrippa, were all inferior in accuracy to that of Josephus. This first note acknowledges a *first portion*—τὴν βίβλον—and asks that the remaining portions, or books, might be sent to him—πέμπε δέ μοι καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς. The second note was probably written in acknowledgment, either of the whole, or of a principal part of the subsequent history; and in this, Agrippa, while admitting the general competency of Josephus to the task he had undertaken, intimates that there were yet *many* circumstances, πολλὰ, with which he had not become fully acquainted, and which the king promises to communicate in a private conference. Now this clause in the second note furnishes an indirect attestation of the genuineness of the letter itself; for Josephus voluntarily produces a letter from a personage of high rank, which, while it pronounces a general commendation upon the work, conveys the less flattering intimation that there were still “many things,” relating to the subjugation of Judæa, concerning which the author was uninformed. This qualified approval, from a man so judicious, and so well informed—and so well disposed toward the Jewish people, is certainly entitled to great weight, as a warranty of the general veracity and accuracy of our author's History of the War.

PAGE 77.

. . . . *Vespasian . . . arrived in Tyre.*

A new order of events now commences. Hitherto the Romans, content to leave the infatuated Jewish people to weaken themselves by their destructive feuds—city against city, and the predatory bands against all—had merely maintained their position, as masters of the coast, while king Agrippa, from his territory beyond the Jordan, watched the insurgent province—Galilee, and stood ready to afford aid to such of the towns as sought for it at his hands. But this state of confusion, during which the majesty of the Roman empire was insulted by the unpunished rebellion of a province so important, was to have its limits; and it had become the more necessary to bring the insurrection to a speedy end, because the peace of the empire was then threatened on several sides; nor could its sullen master conceal from those around him the perplexities that distracted his bosom.

Our Josephus clearly understood what must be the result of the arrival of Vespasian; and that for himself, and his deluded countrymen, the only point undetermined, was that of a less or a more cruel fate—death, or slavery! The Roman general advanced, unresisted, into the heart of Galilee; and Josephus, whatever might be the numbers that were nominally under his

command, knew that nothing remained for him but to shut himself up in the only fortress of Galilee in which he might possibly withstand awhile the impetus of the legions. Thither, therefore, he hurried; and for the events of the following weeks we are referred to the History of the War. After making this reference, he proceeds very summarily to report what concerns himself alone, up to the period when this memoir was composed.

PAGE 79.

. . . . I made request to Titus on their behalf

The extent of the favours which Josephus might feel himself free to solicit from the conqueror, in behalf of his countrymen, being limited—how largely soever he might ask for himself—it was only natural that he should employ this parsimonious grace for the release of his relations and personal friends. Probably it was not in his power to divert, or even to soften the revenge of Titus; revenge not indeed unusual in similar instances of national resistance, but which was indulged to the full when the unhappy Jews were to expiate their heavy offences!

Another question, however, presents itself—Whether a man of deep and generous feeling could have brought himself to accept personal favours from the hand of the inexorable destroyer of his people and country? Josephus might deem the pitiless sale of thousands of his countrymen into distant lands, and the horrid deaths inflicted upon thousands of them at home, a visitation not heavier than the guilt in which they had implicated themselves merited! Be it so; and yet a man is always free to express his sympathy with his guilty and suffering kindred, by modestly declining the honours and the wealth that are proffered him by their gory executioner.

Although we must accept the unvouched-for word of Josephus as to the fact, we can readily believe that he did and that he felt as much as he here professes, and that he used his interest with Titus in behalf of his friends as far as he thought it safe to attempt any such interposition; and we can believe that any further intervention on his part would have been as unavailing as he thought it perilous. But it remains certain, and by his own account, that he did accept, and that he continued to enjoy, the favours of the relentless men who had crushed and trampled in the dust the prostrate Judæa! All is, however, historically consistent in these incidents. Josephus did not disown his people; on the contrary, as a learned and literary man, and when the time came that he could do so in perfect security, he employed himself in recommending their institutions to the favour of the polished world: and as an historian, he adheres, in the main, to truth; but nature had not bestowed upon him the nobler qualities of the soul in any remarkable degree; nor does it appear that his sense of religion was of that vivid kind which might supply the want of native generous sentiments. Josephus, according to his own statement, became wealthy by successive grants of

land in Galilee and Judæa ;—a property, we may say, which must bear a heavy rent-charge, payable out of the funds of his reputation, to the end of time !

PAGE 80.

. . . . *my domestic history.*

The events of this “domestic history” are not of worse complexion than was characteristic of Jewish and Rabbinical manners at this time ; but they are not of better. By means of corrupt glosses, and of actual falsifications of the text of Scripture, on the part of the blind and profligate Traditionists who then ruled the national conscience, the marriage tie had become almost nugatory, and the inevitable consequence—an extreme corruption of manners, had followed. The Jewish women boldly challenged to themselves the privilege of “departing” from their husbands ; while the men, at the impulse of every caprice, were accustomed to divorce their wives.

This “domestic history” supplies, by implication, a sufficient contradiction of the surmise entertained by some, that Josephus, although from motives of policy he carefully concealed the fact, had become a convert to Christianity ; for the very lowest rate of Christian profession would have forbidden him this liberty of divorce ; or at least, it would have precluded the open avowal of the fact in his memoir. He speaks of these things as if altogether unconscious of wrong ; and thus indicates very plainly the fact, that his Pharisaic and Rabbinical notions had not in any degree been disturbed by even a partial submission to a purer moral code.

. . . . *Domitian and Domitia*

The motives of the favour shown to Josephus by Domitian and his consort, as they cannot be known, ought not perhaps to be surmised. This tyrant’s inexorable hatred of learned men and astrologers, and his rude contempt of literature, would seem to have rendered our author’s credit at court very precarious ; and yet, what is affirmed by Suetonius may justify the conjecture, that fertile as he had ever been in catching at the means of personal safety and advancement, he had found opportunity to get himself usefully employed—instead of strangled—by the emperor.

Domitian, says Suetonius, “*liberalia studia in initio imperii neglexit, quanquam bibliothecas incendio absumptas*” (the fire probably which is mentioned by Dio Cassius, as happening in the preceding reign) “*impen-sissime reparare eurasset, exemplaribus undique petitis : missisque Alexandriam, qui describerent, emendarentque.*” c. 23. On this ground we are free to assume the probability, that Josephus, whose extensive learning—Grecian and oriental, was well known at court, would find it easy to proffer to the emperor his valuable services in collecting copies of standard works, and in collating such as were brought from all parts to supply the place of those

that had been consumed. He does not indeed mention his having been sent to Alexandria on this errand ; but it is highly probable that he might be concerned in directing the mission, and in examining the works procured thence. This supposition may, at the least, suffice for excluding one that would be less favourable to his reputation. It is affirmed by Philostratus (Life of Apollonius Tyanæus, l. vii. c. 4), that, under Domitian's 'reign of terror,' philosophy was dismayed, and that the philosophers, "laying aside their garb, fled, some to the remotest parts of Gaul, some to the deserts of Libya, or of Scythia, while some (not our Josephus, we may hope) sought safety in professing the profligate doctrines of the court !"

As to the unhappy Domitia—now repudiated, and anon—a heavier misfortune—recalled to the rights and the humiliations of a wife—quasi efflagitante populo, reduxit—it is easy to believe, that an accomplished man like Josephus, gifted, moreover, with tact and suppleness, and who had early learned, in the court of Poppæa, how to please and to amuse, would recommend himself by the same means to another personage occupying a similar position, and equally unhappy as a wife.—*εἶτα δεηθέντος τοῦ δήμου καταλλάγη μὲν τῇ Δομιτίᾳ, ἐχρήτο δ' οὐδὲν ἦττον τῇ Ἰουλίᾳ.*—DIO CASSIUS, (or ZONARAS.)

. . . . *Epaphroditus*

Who was this friend and patron of Josephus ? If this could be ascertained, some light would be thrown upon the subject now particularly before us—the personal character and credit of Josephus ; that is to say—if it be true, that a man may be known by his associates. Josephus salutes his friend as *κράτιστε ἀνδρῶν*—best of men, a form of address which recalls that employed by St. Luke, *κράτιστε Θεόφιλε* ; but which in the dedication of the Acts, the inspired writer reduces to the simple vocative—*ὦ Θεόφιλε*. In the exordium of the second book against Apion, this friend and patron is again addressed, and as his "most honoured"—or, "very dear Epaphroditus"—*τιμωτάτῃ μοι Ἐπαφρόδιτῃ* : and in the Preface to the Antiquities he is—not addressed, but spoken of—in terms of the highest commendation. Our author had, he says, resumed with spirit his arduous labours in compiling that work, "at the instigation of several persons, but chiefly of Epaphroditus—a man eager in pursuit of every branch of learning, but especially of history ;—he himself having been long concerned with affairs of state, and having had personal experience of many changes ; under all exhibiting an admirable energy of nature, and an immovable adherence to what is virtuous and noble."

It has been affirmed by some of the editors of Josephus, that this, his distinguished friend, was that Epaphroditus who is mentioned by Dio Cassius, Tacitus, and Suetonius, as having been the freedman of Nero, and the secretary of Domitian, and who was put to death by that tyrant in the year preceding his own, on the allegation of his having assisted in effecting the suicide of his master. But this assumed identity, although it seems

otherwise probable, is not to be reconciled with the fact of his being addressed as living, by Josephus, in the treatise against Apion; and this, both at the commencement of the second book, and in the closing sentence of it. Now the *ANTIQUITIES* having been completed, as the author declares, in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian, A.D. 93—the War eighteen years earlier—the *Memoir of his Life* some time subsequently, and the *Books against Apion*, last, and, as it appears, after some considerable interval, we should be carried forward to the early years of Trajan's reign—that is to say, three or four years after the death of that Epaphroditus who is mentioned by the writers just referred to. That the freedman of Nero is the Epaphroditus (and the Epaphras) mentioned and commended by St. Paul, there seems some reason to believe; and that the same was the master and patron of Epictetus, the philosopher. A general resemblance of character appears to connect these scattered notices of the person, as well as several points of historical coincidence. Whether the chronological difficulty, above mentioned, be absolutely insuperable, we shall not spend time in attempting to decide. Yet if the identity of St. Paul's friend, and of the patron of Josephus might be assumed, the divinely-sanctioned reputation of this person must be allowed to lend a good degree of credit to our author, and to his writings;—for it appears that this Epaphroditus allowed himself to be thus addressed by the Jewish writer, in repeated instances, and during a long course of years.

. . . . close my narrative.

No certain information concerning our author's last years is to be collected from any extant sources. When his patrons of the Flavian family had fallen, and when "a new king arose which knew not Joseph"—Nerva, and then Trajan, he probably found his position at Rome precarious, and unless we suppose the grant of lands in Judæa to have been rescinded, he would naturally repair to his native country, where—still protected, as we may believe, by the Roman authorities, he might the most securely end his days. The manner in which he speaks of Domitian, and of Domitia, seems to imply that both were deceased at the time when he wrote. The same may be inferred, with some certainty, from the passage in which he upbraids his rival, Justus, who had withheld his history of the Jewish War, until *all* those public persons were dead who might have convicted him of misrepresentation;—but Domitian, the son of Vespasian, and brother of Titus, was one of these, and he was far more to be dreaded than was either his father or brother. It may be concluded as certain, that a writer so thoroughly Jewish as was Justus, and a professed hater of the Romans, would not incur the risk of publishing a history of the fall of his country, during the life of the brother of its conqueror. Besides—Justus professed, when he published his history, that it had already been written twenty years. Now we must suppose two or three years to have elapsed after the devastation of Judæa, before this writer could have found the leisure to commence his history;

and two or three more, for the actual composition of it: we shall thus be brought to the period in question—that of the extinction of the Flavian family. A year or two more may well be supposed to have intervened before Josephus could be prepared to publish his own Life:—again another interval allowed for the books against Apion; and thus we find Josephus living, and in the full possession of his intellectual energy, at about the sixty-fourth year of his age, A.D. 102. Neither tradition nor conjecture enables us to trace him to a later date.

It must have been immediately after his obtaining a tranquil establishment at Rome, under the shelter of Vespasian's favour, that Josephus addressed himself to the task of composing the history of the more recent misfortunes, and the overthrow of his country. This work, entitled, *THE JEWISH WAR, OR THE JEWISH HISTORY CONCERNING THE CAPTURE (of Jerusalem)*, was completed, if not given to the world, during the reign of Vespasian, and before the death of Agrippa; and therefore not much later than A.D. 75; or five years after the conclusion of the war. An earlier date can scarcely be assigned to it, considering the extent and difficulty of the work, and the fact, moreover, that it had been written, as he informs us, in Hebrew, or rather, the Syro-Chaldaic, which was then spoken by his countrymen—whence it was translated into Greek, with the aid of some persons better qualified than he then could be, to reach the purity and propriety which the “Jewish War” actually exhibits. His having received this kind of aid he candidly acknowledges in the latest of his writings—the treatise against Apion; an extract from which will be appropriate in this place. Having spoken of Jewish histories—canonical and common, Josephus says:—

“As for myself, I have written a particular account of the (late) war, strictly in accordance with the facts of which I had personal knowledge; for I commanded in Galilee against the Romans, whom we withstood as long as it was possible. When taken prisoner by them I was compelled to attend Vespasian and Titus; at first in bonds; but afterwards being set at large, I accompanied the latter when he advanced from Alexandria to carry on the siege of Jerusalem. During the period of the siege nothing escaped my observation; and as to what occurred under my eye in the Roman camp, I carefully noted it; while it was I alone who understood the reports made by deserters from the city. Afterwards, when enjoying leisure at Rome, and having all my materials in readiness, I engaged the assistance of persons competent in the Greek language, by whose aid I composed my history. Confident of the truth and accuracy of what I had written, I did not scruple to submit it, in the first instance, to those who had commanded in the war—namely, Vespasian and Titus; and to whom I appealed as my witnesses. To these imperial persons, I say, the first copies of the work

were presented, and afterwards to many of the Romans, who also had acted a part in the war. Moreover, I disposed of many copies—*ἐπίπρασκον*—to such of my countrymen as were conversant with Greek literature; and among these were Julius Archelaus, and the venerable Herod, and the most admirable king Agrippa. All these bore testimony to my strict regard to truth, and if through ignorance or partiality I had misrepresented or omitted facts, they would neither have dissembled, nor have repressed their opinion."

We have already noticed the qualified approval of Agrippa, as reported by Josephus himself, and it is certain that, when, after the lapse of years, he passed over the same ground in the concluding portion of the *Antiquities*, and in the *Life* of himself, he reduced many of his earlier statements of facts within more modest limits, and tacitly corrected many errors. That he did so, is surely to his credit, and it should be regarded as the indication, at least, of an honest purpose.

Soon after the publication of the *WAR*, Josephus must have commenced his more laborious work,—*THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS*, in which, as he acknowledges, he advanced languidly, and therefore slowly, until urged to quicken his pace by his friends, and especially by his patron, Epaphroditus. This work was completed, as he tells us, in the thirteenth year of Domitian (A.D. 93). He had then reached the fifty-sixth year of his age. In concluding the *ANTIQUITIES*, the author professes his intention to compile a memoir of his family, and of his own life, as a proper appendix to that work. In the *LIFE* which is now before the reader, this purpose is accomplished. The two books against Apion and others, who had laboured to derogate from the honours of his people, were the last written of his extant works, and did not appear (as we have already stated) until some time after the accession of Trajan. The small treatise entitled, "A discourse concerning the Maccabees," and which has passed under the name of Josephus, is, on very sufficient grounds, adjudged to be spurious.

The writings of the Jewish historian have been very frequently mentioned and cited by ancient writers, from the date, almost, of their appearance, and onward in regular succession. Of these "Testimonies," as they are called, the reader may expect some account. They are as ample and satisfactory as most of those which attest the antiquity and genuineness of the remains of ancient literature. Suetonius—(Vespasian, c. 5), enumerates the many omens and presages which had kindled the ambition of Vespasian, or had served to prepare him for his high fortune. Among these, he mentions the response he obtained from an oracle of Mount Carmel—*Carmeli Dei oraculum*—a *pagan* oracle unquestionably, (notwithstanding the endeavours of the Carmelites to establish the contrary,) assuring him that the highest thoughts which his ambition might entertain, should be realized. "More-

over," adds the historian, "Josephus, one of the captives of noble rank, and who was then in bonds, confidently affirmed that he should speedily be released by him (Vespasian) as emperor." Suetonius was the contemporary of Josephus—surviving him a few years, and he might probably have received this, and other facts connected with Jewish affairs, from our author personally.

A few years later than Suetonius, Justin Martyr, the Christian philosopher, composed his "Exhortation to the Greeks," in which he appeals to the evidence of the two Jewish writers, Philo and Josephus, as well known to those whom he addresses. The latter plainly indicates, says Justin, that the institutions of his people were *ancient*, by the very title of his work, which runs thus—"Jewish Antiquities, by Flavius Josephus;" and again in the context—"Philo and Josephus, the learned historians, who have written of Jewish affairs;" and a little further, "Philo and Josephus, those intelligent and approved writers, who have treated of these things."

To Justin Martyr, succeeds, immediately, the learned Christian Father, Irenæus, whose mode of citing Josephus seems to indicate that already his works had become generally known. The passage is from a fragment, found only in a MS. of the Imperial Library at Vienna. "Josephus affirms that Moses having been brought up in the palace (of Pharaoh) was chosen—*χειροτονηθείς*—general, against the Ethiopians, and having vanquished them he married the daughter of the (Ethiopian) king, who for the love she bore him, surrendered to him the state—*πόλιν*." This citation is from the *ANTIQUITIES*, II. c. x.

Theophilus, bishop of Antioch, and a man of extensive learning, addressed his Three Books in defence of Christianity to the heathen Autolycus, about A.D. 170; or less than eighty years after the death of Josephus. This writer, having referred to the testimony of Manetho the Egyptian, and Menander the Ephesian, adds—"and Josephus, who composed a history of the Jewish war with the Romans."

The learned Clement of Alexandria flourished only a few years later than the writer last named; he cites Josephus, *Strom.* i., in the course of an exposition of Daniel's prophecy of the "seventy weeks," in these terms: "and Flavius Josephus, the Jew, who compiled the history of Jewish affairs, collating the times, says that from Moses to David, &c."

Tertullian, the contemporary of Clement, in his "Apology," addressed to the heathen, briefly mentions our author; but the terms in which he does so are important, as showing the light in which he was viewed at so early a time. Tertullian, after enumerating the writers—oriental and Grecian, whose writings might be adduced in support of what he had affirmed, adds—*et qui istos aut probat, aut revincit, Judæus Josephus, antiquitatum Judaicarum VERNACULUS VINDEX.* Our Josephus was then accounted the "home-born champion" of the Jewish people, by a writer so well informed as Tertullian.

Dio Cassius, who flourished in the early part of the third century,

frequently cites Josephus. That portion of his work which is extant in the abridgement of Xiphilinus, contains not merely many facts which probably were derived from our author's pages, but a report of that first interview with Vespasian, on which the fate of Josephus depended. Among the circumstances which had indicated the high fortune of the emperor, this was one, says Dio, that "Josephus, a Jew who had been taken prisoner by him, and bound, smiled (when brought before him) and said—Now indeed you bind me, but a year hence, you—then emperor, will release me."

Minutius Felix, the accomplished Christian apologist, finds occasion, in the course of his erudite confutation of heathenism, to appeal to the history of the Jews, and enjoins his antagonist to peruse the writings of that people; or, if he preferred the Roman writers (those who wrote for the Roman public, whether employing the Latin or Greek language) passing more ancient; "examine the works of Flavius Josephus, or of Antonius Julianus."—XXXIII.

Origen, by far the most erudite of the early Christian writers, often quotes our author, and in two instances so quotes him as almost to exclude the supposition of the genuineness of that celebrated passage (*Antiq.* XVIII. iii. 3), in which the Saviour Christ is distinctly mentioned. These references occur in the *Treatise against Celsus*, I. c. xlvii., and in the *Commentary upon the Gospel of Matthew*, X. c. xvii. Referring to St. James, called the Just, Origen says, "Such was his reputation among the people, for virtue—*δικαιοσύνη*, that Flavius Josephus, who wrote of the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, wishing to assign a reason for the calamities of his people and the destruction of the temple, affirms that their overthrow was divinely inflicted as a punishment for their guilty behaviour towards James, the brother of Jesus, who is called—the Christ. Strange is it," adds Origen, "that this writer who would not admit our Jesus to be the Christ, should nevertheless render such a testimony to the virtue of James!"

Porphyry, the adversary of the Christian faith, writing a few years later than Origen, in his *Treatise de Abſtinentiâ*, IV. § 11, refers very distinctly, though briefly, to our author's writings; designating them in their order. Speaking of the three Jewish sects, and particularly of the Essenes, this writer says: "These, the third sect, followed a course of life which is described by Josephus in several places of his writings; as for instance, in the second book of his Jewish history (the War), which he embraces in seven books: and in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, which are comprised in twenty books; and in the second of the two books addressed to the Greeks" (against Apion).

Thus it appears that at the close of the third century, and indeed at an earlier period, the writings of Josephus—namely, the JEWISH WAR, the ANTIQUITIES OF THE JEWS, and the TWO BOOKS AGAINST APION, were well known to the learned world, and were customarily cited as the most authentic sources of information, relating to Jewish affairs.

From this era, onward, the references to Josephus, especially by the Christian writers—the Fathers, are very frequent, and many of them are precise; but it would be superfluous to adduce these later testimonies in this place, inasmuch as the *early* quotations are those alone to which, in a literary sense, much importance attaches.

Nevertheless, it may be well to place before the reader the opinion entertained of Josephus by Jerome, by a great deal the most learned and competent of the Fathers. In one place—*Epist. ad Marcellum*, Jerome cites Josephus, designating him as—vernaculus scriptor Judæorum; in another—*Epist. ad Eustochium*, he calls him the “Grecian Livy.” In the Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, his works are enumerated: “Josephus, son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem, having been made prisoner by Vespasian, was left with his son Titus; and afterwards coming to Rome, presented his Seven Books concerning the Jewish capture to the two emperors—father and son, who consigned them to the public library. Such was his reputation that a statue was erected to his honour. He moreover composed twenty books of Antiquities, commencing from the creation of the world, and continued to the fourteenth year of the reign of Domitian, and two books, also archæological, against Apion, a grammarian of Alexandria, who had been sent to Caligula, as ambassador on the part of the Gentiles, and had written a book against Philo, derogatory to the Jewish people.”

CRITICAL NOTES ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE JEWISH WAR.

Book IV. ch. viii. § 1. *πυρὶ δὲ αὐτὴν τε κ.τ.λ.* (7 in Cardwell.)—The printed editions have a comma after *ἀνελῶν*, and join *τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἰδ.* with *φρούρια*; but it seems better, with the Latin version of Rufinus, to place the comma after *Ἰδουμαίας*, and translate as in the text. Some of the MSS. have *μὲν* after *φρούρια*, and Rufinus has “*castella quidem*,”—a reading which evidently requires the construction given above. The Idumæa here mentioned, called also the Greater Idumæa (iv. 9. 4.), and which was one of the toparchies into which Judæa was divided (see iii. 3. 5.), embraced the whole southern region as far north as Hebron (iv. 9. 7.), or even Thekoa (iv. 9. 5.)

Ch. viii. § 3. *τῶν μὲν ᾧψιλέστερον κ.τ.λ.* (24 in Cardwell.)—If the reading of the MSS. *τούτου δὲ τοῦ ὀλίγου [ἡ χορηγία] δαψιλῆς*, be correct, the translation in the text seems to be the only admissible one; *τῶν μὲν* being opposed to *τούτου δὲ*, and having the same reference as *τῶν μέχρι κύρου χρονίζόντων*; and *δαψιλέστερον* *χρωμένων* being taken absolutely. But Rufinus appears to have had a different reading. “Those lands which have

a more abundant supply of it, derive but little benefit therefrom; but those which use it more sparingly derive very great benefit."

Ch. ix. § 2. Nero was emperor from October 13, A.D. 54, to June 9, A.D. 68, which gives 13 years and nearly 8 months. But the MSS. of Josephus agree as in the text. Galba was murdered Jan. 15, A.D. 69. Sailing "through Achaia" means across the isthmus of Corinth, by the canal begun by Nero, or by transporting the vessels overland.

Ch. ix. § 9. Otho's death took place April 16, A.D. 69.

Ch. x. § 4.—The temple of Onias must have been founded about 170 B.C. It would therefore be in existence about 243 years, not 343, as here stated.

Ch. x. § 5. ἡ κρατήσας, εἰ παρέλκει κ.τ.λ. (21 in Cardwell.) The meaning of παρέλκει is not very obvious. Perhaps it would be better to take it in the sense suggested by Cardwell, (see his note on the passage,) only making Vespasian, not Vitellius, the subject, and joining καὶ βίαι with καθαίρειν, as is done by Rufinus. The meaning will then be:—"He hoped, if he spun out the war," or, "by spinning out the war, to conquer Vitellius, even in spite of all he could do."

Ch. xi. § 4. Apellæus 3 = Nov. 5, A.D. 69. The MSS. of Josephus agree in giving this; but the true date of the death of Vitellius is Dec. 20 or 21. Norisius (de Anno et Epochis Syro-Macedonum) supposes Josephus to have, in this instance, reckoned by the Tyrian Calendar, which was in use in many cities of Syria, and in which Apell. 3 = Dec. 20. But it seems more likely to be a mistake either of Josephus or of the scribes.

BOOK V. ch. iv. § 2. τὸ ὕψος πλεῖον μὲν κ.τ.λ. (21 in Cardwell.)—The structure of the sentence (πλεῖον μὲν . . . αὐτοῖς δέ) shows that the meaning is as given in the translation:—i.e. if Agrippa's design had been carried out, the wall would have attained a greater height—not than the ten cubits of breadth just before mentioned—but than the twenty cubits of height, which it subsequently attained. The καίτοι (= καίπερ in Josephus, when used with a participle) indicates the same, viz. that the height of twenty cubits was nothing very great.

Ch. iv. § 4. τετελείωτο μὲν ἅπαντα κ.τ.λ. (41, 42, in Cardwell.)—The translation here given, which agrees with the Latin version of Rufinus, is probably the true one. The Greek, as it stands, is scarcely intelligible; but by transposing κύκλω κατ' ἴσον διάστημα after διείληπτο, it would give the meaning in the text.

Ch. vi. § 3. "The son is coming."—Ὁ υἱὸς is the reading of all the MSS. and of Rufinus; and it is not easy to conceive how such a singular reading should be found in all, if it were not the true one. Nor are the alterations proposed at all satisfactory. ὁ ἰὼς would give "the arrow," not "the stone." ὁ λίθος is without authority. Cardwell proposes οὗτος, "here it comes." Reland's explanation is probably not far from the truth, viz. "that the cry was הָאֵן הָאֵן, "the stone is coming;" but that some, deceived by the similarity of sound, took it to be הָאֵן הָאֵן, "the son is coming." From such

a mistake as this, or from some other cause, the term "the son" might come to be applied as a nickname.

Ch. vii. § 1. "*Were long in a state of anxious suspense.*"—This translation agrees with the version of Rufinus. The Greek is ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀποδυνάμεινοι διεφέροντο. It would be better to take διεφέροντο, as in v. 2. 5. (ἄλλος ἀλλαχῇ διεφέροντο). It might be translated:—"For a long time they continued running up and down, bemoaning themselves."

Ch. viii. § 2. "*As a mere burden.*"—ὥσπερ βάρος appears to be the true reading, and not ὥσπερ βάρβαρον. The former is found in some MSS. and was evidently read by Rufinus, who has "velut onus quoddam."

BOOK VI. ch. iv. § 5. καθ' ἣν καὶ τὸ πρότερον κ.τ.λ. (31 in Cardwell.)—Compare 2 Kings xxv. 8, 9; Jer. lii. 12, 13; in the first of which passages the 7th, in the second the 10th, day of the 5th month (*i. e.* Ab or Loüs) is mentioned as the day on which "came Nebuzár-adan, and burnt the house of the Lord," &c. Evidently he may have come on the 7th and set fire to the temple on the 10th.

Loüs 10, A.D. 70 = Aug. 5.

Ch. iv. § 8. The numbers in this section give, for the date of the first foundation of the temple B.C. 1062-1; for the date of its rebuilding B.C. 570. The true dates are B.C. 1011—1004, and B.C. 536; the latter being the second year of Cyrus. Haggai, however, prophesied in the second year of Darius. (Hagg. i. 1.)

Ch. v. § 1. "*The city beyond.*"—This seems to be the meaning of ἡ περαιά here; the term being used in its original sense, *i. e.* not as a proper name, but as descriptive of situation:—"that which lies on the other side of anything,"—a river, a channel, or, as here, a valley,—the valley, that is, of the cheese-makers. Or it might be applied to the country on the other side of the brook Kedron; but can scarcely be understood of Peræa, so called, beyond the Jordan.

Ch. ix. § 3. $10 \times 256,500$ gives, of course, 2,565,000, not 2,700,000; but in which of the two numbers the error lies, it is impossible to determine. The Greek MSS. and Rufinus all agree, except that one or two of the former have 255,600 instead of 256,500.

Ch. x. § 1. Gorpiaëus 8 = Sept. 2, A.D. 70.

The figures in this section give the following dates:—

B.C. 2103. First foundation of Jerusalem.

B.C. 1110. David king in Jerusalem.

B.C. 639. Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

The last date should correspond with $477\frac{1}{2}$ years after David (μετ' αὐτόν); which it would do, if these years were reckoned from the beginning of David's reign, $7\frac{1}{2}$ years before he took Jerusalem. But the words of Josephus seem to give the reign in that city as the starting-point of both the calculations from the time of David; in which case there is a discrepancy of seven years. The Bible chronology gives:—

B.C. 1048. David king in Jerusalem.

B.C. 588. Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar.

It will be seen that the date which Josephus here assigns to the reign of David, is perfectly consistent with the date of the building of the temple deduced from VI. iv. 8.

Book VII. ch. iii. § 1.—Domitian's birth-day was Oct. 24th; Vespasian's November 17th.

Ch. iv. § 1. "*Beheld with satisfaction.*" λαβεῖν . . . αἰσθησιν ἡδεῖαν.—This reading, which corresponds to the "jueundam" of Rufinus, is adopted from Hudson by Riehter and Dindorf. The MSS. have ἰδῖαν, which seems scarcely intelligible.

Ch. v. § 1. Other accounts make the river flow during six days and rest on the seventh; and various changes have been proposed, in order to bring the text of Josephus into accordance with their statement. But all the MSS., with the Latin version of Rufinus, agree as in the text; and such being the case, it is hazardous to make any alteration.

Ch. vi. § 6. Before the outbreak of the war, the Procurator had the command of the forces as well as the civil government; but during the war the two offices appear to have been kept distinct. Marcus Antonius Julianus is mentioned as Procurator during the siege of Jerusalem (VI. iv. 3.) When Liberius Maximus succeeded him does not appear; but he was evidently in office A.D. 72. Terentius Rufus, Cerealius Vitellianus, Lucilius Bassus, and Flavius Silva, are mentioned as successively commanders of the forces after the capture of Jerusalem.

Ch. vii. § 1. The fourth year of Vespasian began July, A.D. 72.

Ch. viii. § 7. τοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κ.τ.λ. (116 in Cardw.)—The MSS. vary a good deal in this sentence. From the version of Rufinus it would appear that he read τοῖς δὲ . . . ἀραμένοις ἀπασι τῶν ἐλπίδα νίκης ἐχυρᾶς παρασχεῖν δυναμένων ὑπὲρξεν. "All those who engaged in the war in their own country, had abundance of such resources as might lead them to hope for certain victory." All the Greek MSS., however, have οὐχ before ὑπὲρξεν: in other respects they favour this reading as much as any other. The text as given by Cardwell is barely intelligible. But see his note on the passage.

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF EVENTS, NARRATED IN THE SEVEN BOOKS OF THE JEWISH WAR.

BOOK I.

It was not so much the history of his nation, as the final catastrophe of the Jewish polity, that Josephus proposed to himself as his subject in this

work; and therefore the whole of the FIRST BOOK, as well as a portion of the SECOND, are to be regarded as only a condensed summary of those events and circumstances without a knowledge of which the last struggle of the Jewish people with the Roman power could not be well understood, or was not likely to be duly thought of by those for whom especially he wrote, namely—the readers of Greek, throughout the Roman world.

This preliminary narrative is therefore a hastily composed sketch of the events of only 234 years; nor is it free from frequent inaccuracies, such as are wont to attach to a cursory glance at the wars, institutions, and revolutions of a troubled period. Josephus at a later time, and when he enjoyed more leisure, and after he had made himself better acquainted than at first with his subject, compiled that history of the Jews which has come down to us in the twenty books of the ANTIQUITIES. In this later, and more carefully composed work, the errors into which he had fallen *in the preliminary portion* of the WARS OF THE JEWS, are—most of them—corrected, while the narrative is given in a much more amplified form. This enlarged history, a summary of which fills the first book of the WARS OF THE JEWS, occupies the last six books of the ANTIQUITIES. His first Book of the Wars embraces a period of 164 years, preceding the Christian era. It opens with the taking of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes in the year B.C. 168.

Within this period of more than a century and a half, the Jewish people—not as a race, but as a nation—had passed through many political revolutions. Occupying, as it did, a narrow territory, which, from its position, and even from its natural advantages, rendered it always the battle-field of the rival monarchies of Egypt and Syria, this people, in temper far from passively subservient to foreign domination, was rendered by its religious prerogatives, and by its vivid consciousness of them, a most impracticable portion of any extended empire. On all these accounts, therefore, it had encountered more than an ordinary share of national calamity. Even if the Jewish people had shown themselves the most abject and submissive of the human race, they must still have borne the stress of the almost incessant wars that raged between “the kings of the north and of the south.” But they suffered doubly, or in a much larger ratio, as perhaps the most high-spirited, if not turbulent people on the face of the earth; and again, their national woes were deepened by their profession of a doctrine, and by their adherence to a worship, which the polytheistic world could neither understand, nor would endure.

At the moment when the history now before us opens its first page, the Syrian portion of Alexander’s disjointed empire was held by Antiochus IV. surnamed Epiphanes; the Egyptian portion by Ptolemy VI. surnamed Philometor, whom Josephus reports to have been then contending for the possession of Syria. Antiochus, having been compelled, by the intervention of Rome, to retire from Egypt, which he had invaded a fourth time,—B.C. 168,—returned with his forces through Palestine, where he vented his anger upon the Jewish people, and at the same time that he used, as a

pretext against them, the pleasure they had seemed to take in his late reverses, he sought to replenish his exhausted treasury by the spoils of the temple at Jerusalem.

But the ferocious and fanatical temper of the Syrian king impelled him to attempt, not merely the national subjugation of the Jewish people, but the destruction or extirpation of their religious rites and belief, and the substitution among them of the polytheism of Greece—its rites, its manners, and its philosophy.

In the prosecution of this design he refrained from no atrocities. His generals and officers, at his command, put in practice every refinement of cruelty. Many of the people, in whose minds the doctrine of Moses, and the rites of the Law, had already lost a firm hold, surrendered their wavering convictions at the first brunt of persecution. But it was not so with others; and these were not a few—priests and people—who, with a noble and pious constancy, maintained their profession, “not accepting deliverance,” but choosing rather to die, tormented, than to apostatise.

The religious constancy of the Jewish martyrs at length assumed a consistent form, and gave rise to a religious, a political, and a military organization, out of which sprang—national independence, which, although it was of brief continuance, lasted long enough to elevate the national mind, to revive among the people a genuine religious feeling, and especially to bring the belief peculiar to this race into a developed state, as a preparation for that revelation of life and immortality which was soon to be proclaimed among them.

The period of Jewish national independence may be considered as commencing in the year before the Christian era, 167, and as continuing till the taking of the Holy City by Pompey in 63—thus lasting a full century or more.

The Maccabean (Asmonean) princes having drawn around them a numerous band of their countrymen, the devoted adherents of the true faith and worship, were able, within a year from the time of their revolt, to make good, under the command of Judas, an effective resistance against the Syrian king. He however, intensely irritated as he was, by this unlooked for rebellion, formed the resolution to extirpate, or to expatriate the Jewish race, and to supply its place by some other people. This purpose, however, he was not permitted to accomplish—scarcely to attempt it; for the signal successes of Judas drove his generals fairly out of the Jewish territory, in the course of two campaigns—B.C. 166 and 165. It was during this year that Antiochus, having been defeated in his Persian expedition, and disappointed in his cruel purposes as to the Jews, expired, it is said, in the frenzy produced by the torments of a horrible disease, and of a troubled conscience.

In the autumn of the following year, the victorious chief possessed himself of the Holy City (the citadel excepted) and purified the Temple and its precincts, where during three years the abominations of polytheism had been practised. He then restored, with glad acclamations, the worship of Jehovah.

The contentions that arose among the rival princes of the Syrian stock, and then the wars renewed between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, were on the whole favourable to the struggles of the Jews in recovering their independence. But while aiming to secure their national integrity by the means of foreign intervention, a course was adopted which, in the lapse of time, issued, as in so many similar instances, in the utter loss of it. The Jews of this time courted an alliance with the Romans ;—an alliance of the feeble with the strong, can mean nothing but first, protection, and then subjugation. This treaty was concluded in the year B. C. 160, in which year also Judas Maccabeus fell in battle, in a manner worthy of his reputation. His brother and successor, Jonathan, found the means not merely of making head against the oppressors of the Jewish nation, but even of dealing with them on advantageous terms. This he did on several occasions when rival princes were willing, at any price, to purchase the aid he was able to afford. It was by means of the support he received from Alexander Balas, a pretender to the Syrian throne, that Jonathan, in the autumn of the year 152, at the feast of Tabernacles, presented himself in the Temple before his people in gorgeous attire as high priest. Thus commenced the series of Asmonean sacerdotal princes. It was on occasion of the marriage of this Alexander with Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy Philometor, at Cæsarea, where the Jewish prince and priest appeared invested with the insignia of regal dignity, that the (conditional) independence of the Jews, as a people, was publicly recognised. This marriage was celebrated in the year B. C. 150.

Alexander Balas having been vanquished by his rival Demetrius Nicator, five years later, Demetrius confirmed Jonathan in his dignities, and moreover granted some further privileges to the Jewish people ; which were again extended on the overthrow of Demetrius, by the son of Alexander. This successful pretender, called Antiochus Theos, conferring military command upon Simon, brother of Jonathan, gave a new stability to the infant state. Jonathan, however, at length falling into the net prepared for him by Trypho, minister of Antiochus, died by assassination, leaving Simon the only survivor of this illustrious family, and the inheritor of the dignities it had acquired : soon afterwards, finding opportunity by the aid of the defeated Demetrius to avenge himself upon the murderer of his brother, Simon obtained, as the price of the succour he furnished, a substantial, if not a formal independence for his nation ; and from this moment a new era in Jewish history takes its date, as “the first year of Simon, high priest and prince of the Jews”—B. C. 143.

During the next year the Syrian garrison, which hitherto had retained the citadel at Jerusalem, was compelled to evacuate that stronghold, and thenceforward the Holy City was in the undisturbed possession of the Jews.

At a solemn convocation of the elders of the people, held in the year 140, Simon was formally installed in his dignity, as ecclesiastical and civil chief of the realm, and to his hands were confided powers little less than absolute.

The foul treason of his son-in-law brought his reign and life to its close,

while yet his administration continued to be firm and beneficial to his people. This event, spreading dismay through the realm, occurred in B. C. 135.

John Hyrcanus immediately succeeded to his father's dignities. Once more, however, the national independence was compromised under his administration, by a disadvantageous treaty with the Syrian king, Antiochus Sidetes. This partial subjugation lasted only a few years, and in B. C. 130, the Jewish independence was firmly, and as it seemed, lastingly restored.

JOHN HYRCANUS, supreme in church and state, and sovereign of a high-spirited and warlike people, gradually regained possession of those border cities and territories which once were subject to the kings of Judah, and at the same time he compelled the domestic adversaries or rivals of the Jews to submit to hard conditions—the Samaritans especially were so treated. He moreover revived the amicable connexion already established with the Roman senate; and by the aid of this powerful—too powerful—ally, placed himself still more completely than heretofore in a position of security toward the Syrian monarchy. This prince, moreover, set in a position of implacable animosity against each other the two religious factions that then divided the Jewish people—the Pharisaic and the Sadducean. This he did by renouncing his alliance with the former, while he surrendered himself to the counsels of the latter.

Aristobulus, his eldest son, after reigning one year with the title of king, was succeeded—B. C. 105—by his brother, Alexander Jannæus, whose reign of twenty-six years was disturbed by perpetual wars and rebellions, disastrous to the country. His widow, Alexandra, a woman of ability, administered the state, by aid of the Pharisees, in a manner tending to repair—in some measure—the mischiefs that had been occasioned by her late husband's turbulence and ambition. She died B. C. 69, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Hyrcanus II., between whom and his warlike brother Aristobulus a contention, fatal to the welfare of the Jewish people at the time, and which involved at length the loss of their independence, was terminated only by an event which claims to be noted as forming an era in the history of this people;—namely, the invitation given by these princes to POMPEY to arbitrate between them. It was in the year 63, B. C., that the Roman general listened, at Damascus, to the pleadings of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. The issue—postponed a brief space, but aggravated in its consequences by the fruitless resistance of Aristobulus—was the siege and capture of the Holy City by the Romans, the slaughter of the people, and their loss, from that moment, of their national liberties. Henceforward Judea was in fact tributary to Rome, and its princes ethnarchs only, or kings by permission. Nevertheless, the retention of the pontifical dignity by Hyrcanus carried forward for a while the native and Asmonean influence.

It is the period dating from the taking of Jerusalem by the Romans under Pompey, B. C. 63, and ending in the destruction of the city under Titus—

an interval of nearly 140 years—that forms, properly and distinctively, the subject of Josephus' history in the seven books of the "Wars of the Jews." What precedes this period is narrated as preliminary only.

The struggles of the vanquished princes of the Asmonean stock to regain their power, seemed, through the course of several years, to conceal from the eyes of the people the reality of the change that had affected them as a nation. And, in fact, the delegation by the Romans of their absolute power, as conquerors, to Antipater, the Idumæan, which gave them still the semblance of a native government, and entertained them with the shows of a monarchy, operated further to blind them to the truth of their position—giving a little colour to the falsehood of the boast, when they said, "We were never in bondage to any man."

It was in the year 57, B.C. that the Roman general, Gabinius, effectively shattered the Asmoncan power, by dividing the country into five districts, independent of each other—dependent only upon the representative of the Roman power in Syria.

Crassus, who succeeded Gabinius as proconsul of Syria, carried away, as Josephus tells us, those treasures from the temple vaults, from which Pompey had magnanimously abstained. The fall of Pompey at Pharsalia, in the year 48, introduced a new order of events in Judæa, by giving more unrestrained scope to the ambition of the crafty Idumæan—Antipater, who had for many years wielded to all intents, that power, which had nominally belonged to the feeble puppet Hyrcanus. Antipater happily divined beforehand to whom the sceptre of the world would fall, and he was rewarded for his foresight by the procuratorship of Judæa. Hyrcanus was confirmed in the high-priesthood.

The following year brings into notice HEROD, the son of Antipater, whose personal history is, in fact, the history of Judæa, through the course of the following half-century. An event of much significance in its bearing upon the after course of Jewish affairs marks the year, when Herod, already advancing rapidly in his course, married Mariamne, the representative of the Asmonean line. This politic alliance had some effect in reconciling the Jewish people to what was in fact a foreign domination, and which the stricter portion of them hotly resented as such.

Herod's return from Rome, B.C. 40, where he had "obtained for himself a kingdom," may be assumed as the leading event of the time. Thenceforward HEROD, king of Judæa, by leave of whoever was for the time master of Rome, is the personage who visibly controls the destinies of the nation: henceforward, therefore, the summary of events, which had embraced years in the compass of a page, becomes gradually more and more special, until the historian approaches transactions which signalized months—weeks—or days.

The year 39, B.C. was marked by the occurrence of another of those sieges, of which so many have to be recorded in the history of the Holy City: in this instance the assailant, Herod, found himself compelled to return discomfited

from its walls. It was not until two years afterwards, that, with the aid of the Roman legions, the city was taken, when a frightful carnage of the people signalized the entrance of Herod into his capital. The decapitation, by Antony, of Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, Herod's competitor for the throne, brought to its close the line of the Asmonean princes, who, reckoning from the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, had actually swayed, or had claimed to sway, the sceptre of Judæa a hundred and twenty-six years. Hyrcanus, the aged representative of the sacerdotal stock, still survived, but was at length made the victim of Herod's jealousies in B.C. 30.

The violences and murders by means of which Herod sought to confirm himself in his power, seemed likely to meet their due reward when, by the battle of Actium, in 31, the fortunes of his patron, Mark Antony, were lost. He however, on the very ground of his fidelity to his fallen master, recommended himself to the favour of Augustus, and thus returned a second time to Palestine, confirmed in his kingly dignity. This took place in the following year.

From the first, Herod had shown himself an unscrupulous and furious tyrant: his fears, his jealousies, and his sanguinary taste, impelled him well-nigh to exterminate his own family. The noble-minded and beautiful Mariamne, to whom he was passionately attached, became nevertheless the victim of one of these impulses, and four years later, in 25 B.C., the last of the blood of the Asmonean race was poured forth upon the scaffold.

The murder of those around him who had caused, or who might cause him inquietude, emboldened Herod to do open violence to the religious notions and feelings of the Jewish people; and thus to win more thoroughly the favour of the Romans. With this view he instituted the games that were elsewhere practised, building a theatre within the very walls of Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre also in the environs of the city. The discontent excited by these impolitic acts, and the frightful vengeance taken by him in consequence upon the people, showed Herod that his personal safety could be secured only by providing himself with impregnable retreats, always held ready to receive him, in the event of a general revolt: impelled by this motive, he constructed, or restored, in the most magnificent manner, several strongholds, which he garrisoned by mercenary troops, and kept always provisioned, so as to sustain a lengthened siege. Such were Hippicus and the other impregnable towers at Jerusalem; Sebaste, on the site of Samaria; Cæsarea, on the coast; Herodium, seven miles south of Jerusalem; and especially Masada, on the western shore of the Dead Sea.

Herod's fears—a tyrant's torment, thus far allayed, he sought occasions for winning some popular favour. During the famine which afflicted Palestine B.C. 22, he largely distributed corn, purchased munificently from his private resources, among the most destitute, and afterwards, and through a course of years, he employed the vast wealth he had accumulated, in the erection of buildings, many of which were gratifying to the national feeling. Such especially was his enlargement and embellishment of the Temple. He built for himself also a sumptuous palace in Jerusalem. About this time, also,

Herod's imperial patron bestowed upon him the regions bordering upon his proper kingdom, Judæa—that is to say, Trachonitis, Batanea, and Auranitis.

The reconstruction of the Temple, which was commenced in 17 B.C., reached substantially its completion ten years afterwards.

The two sons of Herod by Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, after receiving their education at Rome, under the eye of Augustus, had been received with affection by the Jewish people, who regarded them as representatives of the Asmonean house. This demonstration of popular favour toward them, was, however, fatal to the young princes, as it awakened the murderous jealousies of their cunning and unscrupulous half-brother, Antipater, and of their aunt Salome, and then, through them, of their ruthless father. The judicial murder of these young men was perpetrated at Samaria, in the year B.C. 6.

Herod's son, Antipater, whose machinations had thus been fatally successful, became himself, and justly, the next object of suspicion; and on proof of his guilt he was condemned to death, and suffered five days only before the death of Herod. (B. C. 4.)

BOOK II.

Archelaus, the late king's son by Malthace, a Samaritan woman, succeeded by his father's will to the kingdom of Judæa, subject to the approval of the emperor; and going to Rome to obtain this sanction, he returned with the title of ethnarch, in the first year of the vulgar era, or fourth after the birth of Christ. His maladministration procured his banishment by Augustus to Vienne, in the year 7 A. D. And this event is to be noted as marking the onward course of things, leading to the last struggle of the Jewish people to recover their nationality. Judæa now became a Roman province, administered by a Roman governor or procurator, of whom the first appointed was Coponius. The enrolment of the people, for taxation, carried forward by Cyrenius or Quirinus, now president of Syria, may be named as the origin of that blind but patriotic feeling of which the catastrophe of the war, half a century later, was the issue.

Tiberius succeeded Augustus A. D. 14. The administration of the procurators being on the whole prudent and moderate, years passed of comparative tranquillity. But Pontius Pilatus being appointed to the office by Tiberius, A. D. 25 (or 26), his cruelty and avarice very soon raised to a pitch of fury the Jewish people, and gave opportunity to the Zealots to urge forward that insurrectionary movement of which they were the promoters. The outrages perpetrated by this governor, which seemed likely to excite open rebellion, at length drew upon him the displeasure of his superiors, and he was recalled in the fifth year after that which he signalized by the part he took in the condemnation of Christ.

The accession of Caligula, A. D. 37, and the consequent promotion of

Agrippa, grandson of Herod, to the tetrarchies of Ituria and Abilene, with title of king—a dominion to which Idumæa, Samaria, and Judæa were subsequently added by Claudius, in 41—opens a new course of events, as affecting the Jewish people, although it was of short continuance. His munificence, his clemency, and his consideration for the religious feelings of his subjects, balance, in their minds, his faulty leaning toward the polytheistic usages of Rome, and of the Greek population. This reign, which seemed to promise so well for the Jewish people, was terminated by Agrippa's untimely death, A.D. 44, as narrated in the *Acts*, xii. 23.

The death of their king was, in fact, to the Jews, the commencement of their calamities. The young Agrippa could not be entrusted with a government so difficult as was always that of Judæa. Palestine, therefore, became once more a province, governed by a Roman procurator; and the first appointed to this office, Cuspius Fadus, showed them too plainly what sort of treatment they were henceforward to expect.

Ventidius Cumanus, who, in A.D. 47, succeeded Tiberius Alexander as governor of Judæa, aggravated the popular discontents by his cruelty and rapacity. Felix came into the room of Cumanus in 50; he acted with much vigour in trying to put down the masked assassins, or Sikars—the Thugs of that age—who had become the terror of the people, especially at Jerusalem. To him succeeded Porcius Festus, eight years later. During this time, Herod Agrippa II., son of the late king, exercised his regal functions in his kingdom to the north of Galilee. This is the “king Agrippa” of whom we hear so often in the Jewish War.

Albinus succeeded Felix in A.D. 62, and hastened forward the fatal course of events by his insatiable cupidity and ferocity. Under his rule the country was filled with licensed bandits, who paid the governor a share of the spoil in return for the impunity which they enjoyed. His atrocities, intolerable as they were, were however surpassed by Gessius Florus, who succeeded him in 64. Each of these changes entailed new miseries upon this oppressed nation, as each governor strove, during his brief term of power, to wring the utmost out of the wretched people. To the shameless violences and enormous crimes of this last governor is to be attributed the breaking out of the insurrection, as a national revolt.

We have now reached the time at which the events narrated by Josephus properly belong to what is in a more special sense the “JEWISH WAR,” or the final conflict between the Romans and the Jews in arms.

End of April, A.D. 66. The immediate incitement of actual revolt was the scandalous behaviour of Florus toward the Jews, on occasion of a riot at Cæsarea, in which the Greek and Jewish population of that city had fought each other in the streets. Soon followed—that is to say, within a month—a massacre of the Jewish people by the Roman soldiers 16th Artemi-
suis, April 29, at Jerusalem, under the eye of Florus. The fruitless inter-
vention of Agrippa, and his consequent retirement to his own kingdom, left the unhappy city to its fate—too clearly indicated by the

violence with which the factions sought and laboured to effect each other's destruction: the more moderate party taking possession of the upper city; those in favour of war, headed by the Zealots, of the lower city and the Temple, thus preparing to confirm the truth of that word, "A city divided against itself cannot stand."

Hostilities between these two parties commenced from the time of their thus dividing the space within the walls between them. Hitherto, this domestic feud had been carried on in promiscuous conflicts occurring throughout the city. In the first days of August occurred the festival, during which wood for maintaining the fire of the altar was customarily offered, and brought into the Temple. The Zealots holding the Temple and its precincts, repulsed those who, as accustomed, were entering to make their offering. A conflict ensued, and the Zealots, pushing their advantage, got entire possession of the upper city, where they burned the palace of Agrippa and Bernice, and of Ananias. Two days afterwards, they took the ^{15th Lottis,} fort Antonia, massacring the garrison, which had capitulated. ^{Aug. A.D. 66.} They then besieged the Roman troops, and those of Agrippa, in the fortified palace of Herod. The latter being allowed to depart, the Romans took refuge in the three towers on the wall. Here they sur- ^{6th Gorpiaus,} rendered upon the solemn promise of their lives; but no sooner ^{August.} had they laid down their arms, than they were butchered to a man. This horrible treason involved them, beyond hope of compromise, with the Romans. At the same time a massacre of the Jewish population by the Greeks, at Cæsarea, Scythopolis, and other places, incited this outraged people throughout Palestine to resist to the death the Roman tyranny.

The Roman legions, led by Cestius Gallus, the President of Syria, advanced toward Jerusalem, and encamped at the distance of two leagues from it, during the time of the Feast of Tabernacles. Here he was defeated with great loss by the Zealots, who returned to Jerusalem, laden with spoils. This success had great influence in strengthening the vain hope of shaking off altogether the Roman domination. Cestius, on ^{30th Hyper-} the advice of Agrippa, advanced again toward Jerusalem, and ^{beretæus, 7th} encamped upon Scopus, whence he penetrated so far as to ^{Oct. A.D. 66.} establish himself in the new city, within the third or outer wall.

The Jews now withdrew to the upper town and the temple, of which Cestius would, in all probability, have become master in a few days; but, influenced by some motive not easily explained, when the city might have been carried by assault, the Roman general led off his forces, retreating with loss to his camp; and afterwards, in attempting ^{8th Dias,} to reach his former position, he sustained a signal defeat, the ^{15th Oct. A.D.} legions losing their baggage and engines of war, and great ^{66.} numbers falling in the difficult ravines of Beththoron.

It was at this moment, when men of all parties were compelled to choose their side, that the Jewish Christians, in compliance with the injunctions of Christ, abandoned their homes, and, under conduct of their bishop, found

a place of refuge at Pella, beyond the Jordan. The Zealots, thus far triumphant, proceeded at once to restore the defences of the city, and to send forth governors to the several districts within which they might still hope to maintain their influence, and defend their authority. The appointment of Josephus to the command of the two Galilees took place at this time. Throughout the following months, the Jews, with varying success, held the enemy at bay, and carried forward their preparations for the conflict that was approaching.

BOOK III.

Nero, informed of the reverses which had dishonoured the Roman legions in Palestine, called to his aid the ablest of his generals—Vespasian, who shortly arrived in Palestine, and there took the command of all the Roman forces that could then be collected, for the purpose of bringing this formidable insurrection to an end.

It was early in the year 67 A.D., that Vespasian, joined by his son Titus, and by the allied princes of the neighbouring states, advanced into the heart of the revolted country, at the head of sixty thousand troops.

Jotapata, defended by the Jews under the command of Josephus, was invested, and was taken by assault after a desperate resistance of forty days.

Joppa having been taken and destroyed, Tarichæa was next attacked, and its inhabitants slaughtered, or sold as slaves.

BOOK IV.

The fourth book opens with the siege of the almost impregnable fortress of Gamala, which occupied the Roman army another month; and the subjugation of Galilee was completed, late in the autumn, by the taking of Gischala. Meanwhile, within the walls of the devoted city faction raged unabatedly, and by the admission of an Idumæan army, or band, the Zealots were enabled to crush, or to hold in subjection the moderate party, and thus to persist in the course which was so soon to bring about the destruction of their city and nation.

Spring, Vespasian resumed his operations early in the following year, and leaving Jerusalem for the present to itself, not doubting that the factions within it would ere long render it an easy conquest, he reduced the towns of Perea, and afterwards those bordering on the Dead Sea, and those to the south and west of Jerusalem.

June 9, The death of Nero in this year, and the diversions thence
A.D. 68. resulting to Vespasian, delayed until the next year all active measures against the revolted province on the part of the Romans.

A.D. 69. In the same manner also, passed the spring of the following year; but in June, Vespasian again put the army in movement.

In the next month he was proclaimed emperor by the legions then under his command, and in consequence of the events which placed the empire at his disposal, he left to his son Titus the task of reducing the refractory Jews to obedience.

BOOK V.

At this time the whole of Palestine had been reconquered, excepting Jerusalem, and the three fortresses held by the Zealots, namely, Machærus, Herodium, and Masada. Autumn of
A. D. 69.

The rival partisans, Simon, son of Gioras, and John of Gischala, contended for supreme power within the city, the latter having to contend also with Eleazar, a chief who, with the Zealots, had lodged himself securely in the interior of the temple, where he found abundant stores of provisions.

In the spring of the following year Titus, who had arrived from Egypt at Cæsarea, put the Roman legions in movement, along with the troops of his allies. Forming his camp at the distance of about four miles north of Jerusalem, he personally surveyed its defences, and in doing so, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Jews. From his first position he next advanced to that plateau upon which so many hostile armies, in succession, have taken their stand. The table-land called by Josephus—Scopus, is about one mile from the northern wall of the city, which it overlooks. At the same time the tenth legion encamped upon the Mount of Olives. A. D. 70.

Notwithstanding this investment of the city, thousands of the Jewish population of Palestine had continued to pour into it, to celebrate the approaching Passover; and they might have come and gone, unharmed by the Romans; but multitudes became the victims of the fanatical Zealots, now headed by John.

Titus now advanced his legions to a position nearer to the northern wall. He commanded in person the centre division, posted north-west of the city, and over against the tower Psephinus. The other wing extended itself upon the rising ground, opposite the tower Hippicus. The city therefore was invested on three sides—its southern aspect remaining free. 14th Xanthi
cns, April 13.

Having in due form summoned the city to surrender, Titus commenced his operations, with the purpose of making his way through the third or outer wall, which was of wide circuit, and of less substantial structure than those within. During a fortnight the Roman legions sustained several losses from the besieged, and were repeatedly foiled in their endeavours to bring their engines to bear upon the wall; at length, however, a breach was effected, and the besiegers, driving the Jews within the second wall, possessed themselves of the quarter lying due north from the temple. 7 Artemisius,
6th May.

Five days later they stormed the second wall, and pushed on through the narrow streets of Acra—between the western wall of the temple, and

the extreme angle of the city wall, toward the west. From this advanced position they were driven subsequently, yet recovered their ground four days after. The Jews therefore, at this moment, retained possession of the upper city—Zion—only, and of the temple, with the Antonia ; but within these strongly fortified precincts they might very long have held out, had they been united in purpose, and had they not madly consigned stores of provisions to the flames.

Well aware now of the difficulty of his enterprise, Titus again attempted to bring the Jews to terms of reason. These endeavours failing, the legions went to work, in their accustomed manner, to raise mounds near the wall, on which to plant their engines. Two of these works were directed against the Antonia, and two others on the northern quarter ; but they were undermined by the besieged, or the wood-work upon them burned.

This ill success of his endeavours to carry the city by storm now induced Titus to resort to the means for vanquishing it by famine ;—to “ shut it in on every side.” The labour of surrounding Jerusalem with an effective wall was completed by the legions in the incredibly short space of three days. This wall, lofty enough to subserve its temporary purpose, and nearly five miles in circuit, and strengthened with thirteen towers, precluded the entrance of any supplies or provisions, as well as the exit of the useless population. The horrors of famine went on every day to greater extremes of suffering, while reckless massacres gorged the streets with bodies.

BOOK VI.

1st Panemus, The Romans, during this time, employed themselves assiduously in reconstructing their works, and at length were prepared to assail anew the tower Antonia. The outer wall being overthrown by the ram, the besiegers found an inner defence, which the besieged had constructed. This however, after repeated rebuffs, was forced by the Romans, and the Jews fled into the interior of the temple.

It was on the seventeenth of this same month that the daily sacrifices ceased to be offered—ceased from that day to this ! The next day a doubtful conflict was carried on in those avenues which the fall of the tower Antonia had laid open. After the lapse of another seven days, the Romans, upon the site of the ruins, had raised an embankment against the enclosure of the temple itself. The burning of the porticoes toward the north and west, involving a great loss of life on the side of the Romans, brought the besieged and the besiegers still nearer to each other. It was at this time that those horrors had place which the last extremity of hunger is wont to occasion.

8th Lolis, Ladders were now planted against the exterior of the porticoes ; but the assailants being repulsed, the entire ranges of

wooden structures were set fire to, and consumed. Titus still hoped to avert this fate from the temple itself; but he failed in his endeavours, and on the very anniversary of the destruction of Solomon's temple, that of Herod was enveloped in flames.

10th Loüs,
5th Aug. A.D. 70.

The upper city still held out against Titus. The entire range of the lower city—Bezetha, Acra, and the southern quarter, Ophel—all was given up to pillage, slaughter, and fire, and preparations were made to force an entrance into Zion.

After a few days' delay, the battering machines were brought to play upon the wall. This last refuge of the Jewish people was soon entered, and anew the work of destruction went on. Jerusalem was made a heap of smoking ruins—ruins entombing, or not entombing, thousands upon thousands of the slain, or of those who had died of hunger.

20th Loüs,
15th Aug.
8 Gorpäus,
2d Sept.

BOOK VII.

Three fortresses were still occupied by Jewish bands—namely, Herodium, Machærus, and Masada. The first of these was readily taken by the Roman general, Lucilius Bassus, and Machærus fell after some resistance. Masada then became the scene of what might be called the final catastrophe of the Jewish people. After the self-destruction of those who had there found refuge, it was taken possession of by Flavius Silva, in April, A.D. 73.

THE PREDICTED DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWISH POLITY, CITY, AND TEMPLE.

IRRESPECTIVELY of its bearing upon a momentous religious argument, the narrative of the JEWISH WAR, as given by Josephus, would have held a prominent place among the historical remains of antiquity. But, in fact, it is this, its undesigned relationship to Christianity, connecting the overthrow of the Jewish state with the promulgation of the Gospel, which has come to be regarded as the main reason of the high importance that attaches to the writings of the Jewish historian. Briefly stated, the case before us is this:—The speedily approaching and irretrievable destruction of the Jewish *national* existence—the slaughter and dispersion of the people—and the capture, overthrow, and demolition of the city and temple (involving the cessation of its divinely-appointed worship and services) were, on several occasions, and in different modes of speech, foretold by Christ, in

the course both of his public ministry, and of his private conversations with his disciples. The actual utterance of these predictions, at the time *alleged*, is a fact necessarily included in the evidence which attests the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels; and the fact is here assumed as certain.

But have these predictions been indeed fulfilled? If so, when, and under what circumstances? Is it true that a fair interpretation of the prophecy stands sustained by the after-history of the Jewish people, country, and city? Such, in substance, are the questions which it is inevitable to put, and which should receive a definite reply.

In preparing such an answer, it is natural, *first*, to look at the devastated Palestine itself, and to those ruins which now cover, and which through a course of ages have covered, the site of its ancient metropolis. We look also to the actual condition, and to the known modern history of the Jewish people, as well as to those records of their past history which themselves, with no wish to corroborate the faith of Christians, have composed and preserved. We turn, in the next place, to the existing architecture, and the medallie memorials of the Roman occupation of Judæa, at the times in question; and especially to those of them which symbolise the conquest of the revolted province and the subjugation of the people.

The evidences, bearing upon this question, which next in order claim attention, are those passages in the contemporaneous Latin and Greek writers—the historians especially—in which the Jewish revolt is mentioned, and the events of the war, ending in the overthrow of the nation, are narrated, or are briefly alluded to.

These several sources of information, independent as they are one of the other, furnish altogether an amount of proof far more than enough to remove the possibility of doubt at least as to the outline of the facts.

But for the filling up of this outline, and for our knowledge of those lesser, yet significant circumstances which attended the catastrophe of the Jewish people, and which enhance so much the argumentative value of the history in its bearing upon the prediction—for this filling up, and for these circumstances, we must be indebted to the pages of the national historian—Josephus. Yet we enter upon an examination of this more ample evidence, well secured, at the outset, against the inroads of warrantable scepticism (as to the broad facts) by the coincidence of the various testimonies above mentioned; and we are thus left at ease to apply to the separate portions of this more ample testimony, every approved method of critical and historical scrutiny. We may well afford to make as large an allowance as can be asked for, on the plea of the author's supposed sinister intentions, of his alleged habit of exaggeration, or of his want, in any case, of authentic information.

But now, before attempting in any such manner to sift this evidence, that upon which it bears, namely—the PREDICTION itself, or the several predictions, in question, should be placed before us. Let us know precisely what it is which Christ foretold as about to “come to pass,” affecting the Jewish nation, its sacred city, and its temple. Moses and the prophets,

in their several times, had predicted the miseries that should signalize the history of this peculiar people—their captivity, dispersion, persecutions, contempt, and the demolition of their city and temple: these, and such like calamities, had saddened the message of prophet after prophet through a course of ages; and each threatened woe had actually come on, so as that, in the time of Christ, it did not seem as if those ancient predictions of wrath needed any further accomplishment.

On the contrary, inasmuch as the Jewish people—at home, and throughout the world—had now at length, utterly, zealously, and even with vehemence, renounced and forsaken those polytheistic tendencies, and that idolatrous apostasy, on account of which, and of which *exclusively*, the prophetic denunciations had been issued—it might appear as if the dispensation of wrath had, with the “offence,” passed away, no more to be revived; and as if a people now, so faithful to their trust, as God’s witnesses among the nations, might confidently look forward to a futurity of peace and welfare. The Jewish people of that age might, on one ground, almost think themselves *entitled*, according to the terms of the covenant made with their fathers, to an ample and continuous fruition of those promises which brighten every page of their prophetic Scriptures, and which alternate with each threatening of wrath.

Nevertheless, the language of threatening is again taken up by Him who comes to announce and to establish a “better covenant” than that of Moses; and these denunciations are no longer—like those of the ancient prophets, mingled with bright forecastings of national restoration. Christ predicts woe to the Jewish people, and woe without a return of hope.

This message of dismay is sometimes conveyed in symbolical terms; and sometimes with all the distinctness which the most literal style can secure. A denunciation to be inflicted upon the nation within the compass of a few years, must be understood as the purport of that passage, (LUKE xi. 50,) in which our Lord declares that the generation then extant should be reckoned with for the blood of the martyr-prophets of all past time; and that this should be, because those to whom he spake, and their contemporaries, should take upon themselves this guilt by putting to death the servants of God that were about to be sent to them.

When set forth in apologue, the same consequence, as affecting the Jewish nation of that age, was so plainly declared, that the Rabbis, in whose hearing our Lord uttered some of these parables, were not blind to their meaning. They well understood that “he spake of them.” So, in the parable of the ten pounds. (LUKE xix.) The prince, rejected by his subjects, who declared that “they would not have this man to reign over them,” are, when he has reckoned severally with his servants, dragged into his presence and slaughtered as his declared “enemies.” And it is to be noticed that, while this—the “end” of those who should reject him as the Messiah, is yet vividly present to his mind, the mere sight of the fated city, as he “came near” to it, and saw its impending woes, as if then enacting before him, drew from

him the prophetic lamentation, which he uttered weeping—"If thou hadst known, even thou in this thy day!" The terms of the prediction are to be particularly noted. Jerusalem was to be beset by "her enemies," who should "fence her in," and "surround her" on all sides, and level the city with the ground, overthrowing its structures, stone by stone. It was thus that, after pursuing to the death those who should be sent to her, Jerusalem was to see her "house left to her desolate." Such should be the overthrow of the *city* and *temple*. As to the *nation*—the Jewish people, rejecting Christ as their Messiah, He, at his coming, should "miserably destroy them." That is to say, they should perish under circumstances of aggravated and unexampled suffering, MATT. xxi. 40, 41. Our Lord was clearly understood to mean nothing less than this, by those before whom, and against whom, the parable of the vineyard was uttered: hearing it, they exclaimed, (LUKE xx. 16,) "Let it not be." The chief priests and the Pharisees listening to his parables "perceived that he spake of them."

No purpose which we have now in view, demands that the involuted predictions recorded by the three Evangelists concerning the destruction of the temple, and the course of events "to the end," should here be historically considered or interpreted. What we have to do with, is a single prediction, too explicit to be evaded, as if it might be susceptible of a merely metaphoric interpretation. Jesus, with his disciples, going forth from the temple, declared concerning the structures toward which—incidentally—they had directed his attention, "that not a stone of them should be left upon another." This prediction, uttered at the moment, as if unpremeditated, was presently afterwards made the text of a series of prophecies, susceptible, perhaps, of a complex or reverberating interpretation, reaching onward through all time; but from the general aspect of which, as related to the specific prophecy concerning the demolition of the temple, we may safely gather this intention—namely, to forewarn the disciples, and through them their immediate successors, of that season of unprecedented calamity, which was *soon* to come upon the city and nation. Happy should the childless be accounted in those days of wrath;—and happy those who, at that time rightly understanding these warnings, should abandon, at a moment's notice, whatever they might possess, and make good a timely escape from the devoted city.

The prediction now in question is but a more defined and emphatic expression of that which, in various modes, during the course of his last visit to Jerusalem—if not before—our Lord had uttered, foreshowing what was then about to come to pass.

It may be well to bring before the eye, so far as is practicable, the topographic circumstances that may be thought to have attached to the delivery of this precise prediction.

There is reason to believe that our Lord's "walking in the temple," and his "teaching in the temple," took place, ordinarily, within and about the cloister on the eastern side of the great quadrangle; that is to say, before

the eastern front of the temple itself. In leaving the sacred precincts, therefore, his exit would be by the eastern gate, opening upon the deep valley of Jehoshaphat; the gate, probably (which has long been built up,) called in modern times, the Golden Gate. That, on the occasion which we have now in view, Christ, "with his disciples," did actually leave the temple by this Eastern Gate, would naturally be inferred from the fact of his having ascended, forthwith, the opposite height, taking his repose for a while, as he was accustomed to do, in the olive grove which tufted its ridge.

Facts, or necessary inferences from facts, presently to be adverted to, lead to the belief that the pavement of the *courts* of the temple above which the pavement of the temple itself was raised many feet, were upon a level considerably higher than that of the present plateau of the Haram. That is to say, the interior open space—the pavement of the courts—would, if a level had been carried from it outwards, have struck the outer wall at a height above that where, on every side, this wall now shows, by its irregular masonry, that it is a modern work; that is to say, dating later than the time of the demolition of the city by Titus. Now the disciple, or disciples, who pointed cursorily to the buildings of the temple, and to the "goodly stones and gifts"—the columns of white marble entire, and of porphyry, and their decorations of massive gold which adorned it—had in view, *not* those colossal substructures on which the whole rested, and which, *at that time*, did not—could not, meet the eye, but only those superstructures which gave to this extraordinary pile of buildings its great elevation. "*See ye not*," said our Lord, "*these things*"—the things which *in fact the eye fixed itself upon*, on every side—"I tell you the days are coming when not one stone of *them* shall be left upon another."

From his position upon Olivet, "over against the temple"—which in height could not have been inferior to the ridge whereon now stands the church of the Ascension—our Lord continued his prophetic discourse;—his eye, and the eye of those to whom he spoke, resting upon a vast structure of unmatched solidity, magnificence, and costliness; and he then went on to predict a course of events as "at hand," the issue of which should be such an overturning of the city, and of its walls, and of its towers, and of its temple, as should reduce the whole almost to an undistinguishable level of ruins—the deep valleys choked on every side, and nothing rearing itself aloft but the three towers westward, which were to tell to after times what sort of city it was, against which the Roman arms had prevailed.

On the testimony even of profane writers, we must suppose Jerusalem to have been, in the times of the Herods, architecturally one of the most remarkable within the circuit of the Roman world:—none were more solidly built, or were more likely to stand the wear of time, or even to outlast the ordinary chances of war, of siege, and of conflagration. That it should be levelled piecemeal by the crow-bar, and that this demolition should be effected, not by the reckless fury of a swarm of barbarians, but coolly and deliberately,

by those who were masters of the world, and who especially prided themselves upon the magnificence of the cities and countries they had vanquished—this was no probable event, which could be calculated upon as likely to occur; unless, indeed, a period were to be claimed for its arrival long enough to include the revolutions of many centuries. And yet it *did* take place, within the limits of a human life—even before that generation had passed away. “Weep not for me—weep for *yourselves*, and for your children,” said our Lord; for *some of yourselves*, and multitudes of your children, shall survive to that time of woe.

Those passages from the Roman contemporary writers, which refer to, or which affirm, the subjugation of Judæa and the demolition of the city, have been often cited, and—sustained as they are by the evidence of coins and sculptures, they remove the principal facts of the Jewish war beyond the range of all reasonable doubt or question. As to the evidence of Josephus, to whom we must look for the details—the filling up of the outline of this history—the reader has had it before him; and he may form his own estimate of the degree of confidence that is due to it. The narration of the events of the siege through the summer-months of the year, 70 A.D., may perhaps bear retrenchment in certain particulars which seem to demand an allowance to be made, either for the historian’s imperfect information, or for his natural tendency (if such there were) toward over-statement; but after every such retrenchment has been effected, the broad results remain untouched—namely, that the Jewish people did offer a long-continued and resolute resistance to the Roman forces;—that, during the protracted siege which ensued, the most appalling extremities of suffering were endured by those who were enclosed within the walls;—that, by famine, by intestine conflicts, by conflagrations, and by the Roman sword, an unexampled loss of life took place;—that thousands of the people afterwards perished in the Roman amphitheatres, that many thousands were sold as slaves, and that the legions, after possessing themselves of the city, were occupied during a length of time in deliberately overthrowing its buildings—public and private; and that they prosecuted this work of demolition as far as it could, in the nature of things, have been carried, unless the Cyclopean materials of these structures had been actually removed from the site, and had been heaped up at a distance from it. This was not attempted, nor was it possible, and therefore the deep *substructures* of the city, or the lowest tiers and courses of stones, buried, as they would be, beneath the mass of overthrown materials, remained there untouched, and are now partially exposed to view.

And what do these extant remains indicate, in relation to those predictions that have been fulfilled; and in relation to some that are yet to be accomplished?

In their bearing upon the *former*, and especially upon the specific prediction which we have immediately in view, it will be well to make an exploration of the modern Jerusalem, considered as THE SEPULCHRE of the ancient Jerusalem. By the aid of the ample and various testimonies

of modern travellers, and by the help of the pictorial illustrations that are attached to this work, we attempt such an exploration; and inquire how far the existing buildings, and the confused materials that now cover the site of the ancient Jerusalem, may be held to tell the story of its history up to, and beyond, the commencement of the Christian era.

What is assumed at the outset of such an inquiry is no more than what is, at present, allowed on all hands—namely, that the deep ravines, or the natural valleys which, on three sides, hem in the *modern* Jerusalem, do enclose the area of the *ancient* city. In other words, that the traditionary topography of Jerusalem has not greatly erred in respect of the site, either of the temple, or of Zion; or as to the identity of the tower of David—the Hippicus of Herod's time. It is necessarily assumed also, that the name—"the Mount of Olives," has been truly assigned to that range of hills which overlooks the great mosque and the haram, from the east.

The courses of the winter torrents, embracing the city, immoveably define its boundaries on the east, west, and south. Coincident with the natural features of this area, are certain architectural remains, so blended with those natural features as to remove all ambiguity from our course of inquiry. These blended remains—these archaic structures, which time has, in a manner, melted into a oneness with the rock whereon they rest, are, as has been already stated, the following—1st, the watercourse, artificially formed, which conveys a stream from some unexplored source within the Haram, along the flank of Ophel, first to the Fountain of the Virgin, and thence onward to the Fountain and Pool of Siloam. This conduit, in which nature and art have wrought together, speaks of that course of many centuries, during the lapse of which all things have undergone change—except itself.

Again, 2dly, the two pools—the upper and the lower pools of Gihon, together with the aqueducts that wind along the sides of the Valley of Hinnom, and which encircle the southern mound of Zion, must be regarded indisputably as remains of a remote age. With these may be classed, 3dly, the spacious hollow, north of the Haram, called the Pool of Bethesda, and also 4thly, that on the western side of the city, called the Pool of Hezekiah.

But in fact, this aqueous testimony in behalf of the alleged identity of the modern and of the ancient Jerusalem, may be gathered at all places within the circuit of the walls, where we choose to look for it—deep hidden among the basements of the modern houses. Jerusalem has at all times enjoyed exemption from the suffering of drought, when besieged. Every house, almost, had its tank; and as very many of these are still in use, they attest, in various ways, the antiquity of their construction. Jerusalem might be called a city of cisterns; and if the site of the ancient city could on any pretext be called in question, the laying bare these reservoirs, which honey-comb the rock whereon it stands, must determine any such argument. Thus it is that, if now the ear be laid to the surface of this excavated rock, in more than a few places, the gurgling or the trickling of deep waters may be heard,

whispering concerning those thousands of years through the track of which the "early and the latter rains," granted from year to year by Heaven, have been treasured and used by man.

From the space enclosed within the walls we next turn to the sides of the rocky valleys that encircle it. These again utter their voice, although in another tone; for it is the voice of the sepulchre, and it attests the fact that these limestone acclivities have received the mortal remains of very many generations. A closely built and densely peopled city, it is manifest, has, through a long tract of time, sent forth its dead to find their place of rest around it. Myriads of sepulchres, indicating in various modes the ages to which they severally belong, serve to show that we have not erred in assuming as certain the continuity of this city, *on this spot*. This circuit of sepulchres—this belt of the dead—runs quite round the city, just outside the circuit of waters, and it encloses a space measuring about a mile and a half, east and west, by two miles or more, north and south. What means a band of tombs, rising range above range, and forming an amphitheatre six miles or more in circuit, if not that it has long engirdled thousands of the living?

We look next to the structures of all kinds which cover this thus enclosed area. Jerusalem, and other modern cities that have held continuous possession of an ancient site, show their history conspicuously in their structures, and remains of structures—in the edifices that are entire, and in those that are prostrate. This visible and palpable history, moreover, may be read, not merely on the face of masonry that has held its place unremoved from the first, but in the *material*—the wrought material, lying about, or which has been made available by the builders of later times. It is thus in every ancient European city—take as examples some of our English towns, such as Chester, York, Colchester, Exeter, Gloucester. We find in those places, the modern English architecture—the Pointed—the Norman—the Saxon—the Roman, and some of these edifices, in whole or in part, such as the builders of each age made and left them: while others show the motley of a recent superstructure, or a filling up, or a repair of an ancient substructure. But what is often the most significant, is that which presents itself to the eye of the antiquary, when buildings, the architectural style of which leaves no doubt as to the age to which they should be assigned, have been constructed with materials that, from some well-understood peculiarity, show that they have been borrowed from a far more ancient structure. In certain instances of this kind, one frontage is seen to exhibit a quite modern superstructure, below or within which is a more remote work—itsself modern, compared with the materials of a still earlier building, which are wrought into it: and lastly and lowermost, a basement, consisting of those materials, occupying their original position. In such instances it is usual (as would be reasonable to suppose) to find the basement exhibiting a perfect regularity of position in the stones, as well as a relative congruity and an exactness in the joinings. What has been reared by employing the disintegrated materials of an ancient structure, is ordinarily less precise in its masonry;

and presents a frequent intermixture of incongruous masses, large and small, and these not packed in the best manner. In a word, such edifices bear the marks of that alternate niggardliness and profusion which is the characteristic of waste, and of a barbaric indifference to symmetry.

Take as an example (already mentioned in this work) the long-ago dismantled and wave-worn mole, which marks the site of the ancient Cæsarea; we there behold shafts of porphyry, and highly-wrought capitals, protruding out their ends from between rude blocks of stone, and this medley is seen to be resting upon a deep-laid foundation of Cyclopean stones—stones which speak to us of Herod's magnificence, and of that boundless command of means which his despotic rule secured to him.

Now this sort of mixture, and this alternation of the ancient and the modern—of the *materials* of a remote era, worked into the successive structures of later ages, presents itself on every side as we walk about the modern Jerusalem. We have before us, uppermost, the labours of the Turkish builder, with his patchwork; then those of the Frank—substantial and uniform; then the Saracenic work, then the Greek; then the Roman, from Hadrian's time up to the Augustan age, including Herod's; and beneath and beyond these remains there is found a style of masonry, and a mode of working materials, which is peculiar, and which, beyond question, claims an antiquity far more remote than the times of the Roman supremacy in Syria.

Let the reader now turn to some of the plates attached to this and the preceding volume.

We first take the two plates entitled—STREETS IN JERUSALEM, both of which may be adduced as presenting *samples* of what meets the eye in all parts of the city—namely, fronts and sides of buildings—private houses, before which a lecturer upon the history of Palestine might well take his stand, as if before a chart of chronology. There are the Turkish upper works, and the balconies—the pots and the rubble, put together with all imaginable recklessness of rule and proportion. Then the well-constructed and decorated arches, both Crusading and Saracenic, and then the basements, constructed, perhaps, about the same time, but consisting of materials taken, as convenience dictated, from confusedly overthrown masses, belonging to a remote age. That the stones *individually*, of which these walls consist (in their lower ranges), were squared and wrought for a building of *an earlier time*, is evident, not merely from their irregular position *now*, one with another, and the intermixture of small and large stones, but also from the circumstance that the edges of many of them are finely bevelled, as in adaptation (as elsewhere appears) to a uniform and ornamental collocation; and we see moreover that the more recent builder, in order to give some little appearance of care and cost to his work, has rudely chiselled a *correspondent bevelling* upon the neighbouring stones, which had it not originally. We see then before us, in these instances (and they are very numerous) masses of substantial building, self-dated as we may say, the lower portions being manifestly not of later date than that of the Saracenic, or the Greek

occupation of Palestine, and which lower portions were put together from the overthrown remains of far more ancient buildings—edifices evidently of great solidity and costliness.

That which is seen at so many points in the narrow streets of Jerusalem, offers itself also to view in those vast Cyclopean structures which mark the site of its public buildings.

We now therefore refer the reader to those plates that exhibit the exterior walls of the Haram, at different points. (See HARAM WALL, SOUTH-EAST CORNER; SOUTH FRONT, EAST CORNER; NORTH-EAST CORNER; and particularly that representing a portion of the WALL NEAR ST. STEPHEN'S GATE.) These portions of wall exhibit, in a very distinct manner, THREE ARCHITECTURAL ERAS: the latest being the reparation of the wall with irregular materials, mostly of small size, and which is to be regarded as a Turkish work. Beneath this, and pursuing a very irregular line, is a surface of colossal masonry, in which stones of enormous dimensions are very irregularly commingled with smaller, the interstices being filled up in a manner that indicates a disregard of form and order. Many of the faces of stones in this portion of the wall are bevelled, and the bevellings are adjusted with some appearance of care, one to another. But yet here and there, mortice tenons protrude themselves, while on other faces there are corresponding cavities, showing clearly that the whole of these materials are adaptations of the dislocated and disjointed stones of an overthrown but elaborately wrought ancient building. In each of these plates something of this sort appears. In that of the SOUTH FRONT, EAST CORNER (upright plate) the irregular packing of stones, larger and smaller, is seen, even quite low down in the wall; in fact, the third upwards from the present level presents this *misposition* of stones, in a striking manner. The stones of this corner may be examined, stone by stone, in comparing the two faces of this same corner, as seen in the upright plate, and in that of the eastern side of the same. From this comparison it will appear that, although the stones are placed alternately lengthways and endways, on each front, so as to impart strength to the corner, showing what was manifestly the *principal intention* of these later-age builders, yet, this purpose being secured, no such regard was afterwards paid to the collocation of stones, as would serve to give uniformity to the alternations of joinings.

It will be well distinctly to understand what is implied in the facts now under our eye. We have before us a mass of masonry, the materials of which, being of extraordinary and colossal magnitude, could not have been quarried and transported unless by a community, or a prince, commanding great resources, and this through a long period of national tranquillity. Yet this is not all;—for besides its enormous weight, which alone must have rendered each stone in a high degree costly, each has been bevelled in the most exact manner; or rather has been squared down upon its four edges, so as that, when duly ranged, the face of the wall would present a surface elaborately decorative, true, and symmetrical.



TIBERIAS

ANAPHOTH





POOL OF BETHESDA

NOTICE.

As it has not been found possible to embrace, within the compass of this Part, the whole of the Letter-press which concludes the Work, a SUPPLEMENTARY HALF PART will be published, with Five Plates, on the 1st of March, 1851.

